

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 10



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FBI

Date: 5/19/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Bureau letter to Houston, dated 5/12/69.

Attached for the Bureau are 3 copies of letterhead paper used by the BPP. Although the letterhead paper still carries the Emeryville address, which is no longer existant, no other letterhead has been noted as being used by the BPP and it is believed the attached is still in current usage. There is no need to return the specimens.

For possible reproduction of signatures of letters Houston is requested to send original expulsion letter [redacted] to Bureau, as requested in referenced Bureau letter.

It is believed the material furnished may then be sufficient for the laboratory to make a suitable reproduction of the paper in order to use it in the "expulsion" of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and associates from BPP.

San Francisco is awaiting opinions of New York, WFO, and Atlanta as to where to send expulsion letter to CARMICHAEL, and if [redacted] should be included with him.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)(Enc. 3)
1 - Houston (157-1210)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
WAC:bfr.
(5)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

98 JUN 18 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 157-601

WAC:bfr

The BPP does not regularly use any particular type and model typewriter. They use any one that is available and operative at the time they wish to type something. Thus it is expected that the Bureau Laboratory can use any old typewriter to type up the letter or expulsion which will be written by San Francisco Office.

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

- 1 - Mr. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. I. W. Conrad

DATE: May 26, 1969

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

This is to recommend that attached letterhead paper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), including signatures of officials of the BPP, be forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for reproduction.

The BPP is a notorious black extremist organization with headquarters in Oakland, California, which advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end "oppression of the black man." The group advocates the killing of policemen and follows the doctrines of the Chinese communists.

We have conducted a continuing counterintelligence program against this notorious group and have recently come into possession of copies of BPP letterhead, printed at national headquarters in Oakland, California. In addition, one page of this letterhead contains the signatures of the "Central Committee" of this group. At this time, several CIP proposals are being considered which necessitate the use of BPP letterhead. Prior to making recommendations concerning these proposals, it will be necessary to produce a supply of blank letterhead, including some copies with the signatures of these leaders. This has been coordinated with the Document Section of the Laboratory and the reproduction of the letterhead is feasible.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, that attached samples of letterhead paper be forwarded to the Laboratory for reproduction by that division. When completed, specific counterintelligence proposals will be recommended using the letterhead mentioned above.

Enclosures
100-448006
JAN:sc (9)

REC 88

JUN 16 1969

98 JUN 78 1969

FBI

Date: 5/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) (P)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (VISUAL AIDS)
 (Buded 5/23/69)

Forwarded herewith is a series of photographs depicting members of the BPP during the "Free HUEY" demonstration held at Hartford and New Haven, Conn., on 5/1/69.

Enclosed are:

- 1) 2 rolls of color movie film of BPP rally in New Haven;
- 2) 1 set of thirty-five 5"x7" black and white photographs of "Free HUEY" demonstration held at Hartford;
- 3) 1 set of seventeen 4"x5" black and white photographs developed from above movie sequence (item #1).

New Haven will continue to forward items of similar nature in connection with captioned program.

2 Bureau (RM) (Enc.3)
 1 New Haven
 LWH/mmf
 (3)

EX-116

REC-6

12 JUN 12 1969

50 JUN 20 1969

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

4

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/11/69

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (157-1210)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReHOlet, 2/28/69.

I. Operations Under Consideration

By communication dated 2/26/69 the Houston Division proposed counterintelligence measure directed against the Black Panther Party (BPP) which proposal dealt with directing a communication to the various BPP chapters requesting \$500 be sent to a rented P.O. Box in Oakland, California. This proposal which required the obtaining and duplication of BPP letterhead stationery as well as other details is currently under consideration by the Bureau.

II. Operations Being Effected

No specific counterintelligence operation is currently being directed against the black nationalists-hate groups in the Houston Division. It is noted, however, that with the handling of well placed informants in the Houston Division, efforts to get any black nationalist organization of any substance in the Houston Division has been controlled. In this regard, it is noted that the only black nationalist group currently operating in the Houston Division is the Nation of Islam and because of the number of informants currently utilized against this group they continue to have difficulties as regards finances and membership.

III. Tangible Results

Results of counterintelligence action in the Houston Division as pointed out above has resulted in considerable friction developing among Nation of Islam members and leaders and also a significant result is the fact that the BPP, SNCC and other black nationalist groups have not been able to organize or function to this point in the Houston Division.

1-206 ✓
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Houston
DCS/sjm
(3)

REC 12 100-448006-2

22 JUN 13 1969

EX-103

RACIAL INT/S.D.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

HO 157-1210

IV. Development of Counterintelligence Interest

No outstanding development of a counterintelligence interest has developed in the Houston Division; however, this matter is continually evaluated through well placed informants and any possibility of counterintelligence action against the black nationalist groups which appears to have merit will immediately be considered and the Bureau will be so advised.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Denver (157-199)

6/12/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

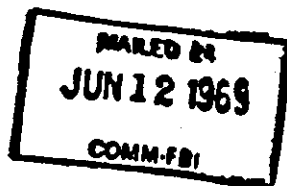
ReDNlet 5/2/69.

The suggestions mentioned in referenced letter are appreciated and are being considered in relation to a mass media dissemination concerning the demands of Negro students on college campuses.

JAM:ra (5)

NOTE:

Denver has suggested that consideration be given to preparing a throwaway to be mailed anonymously to college administrators that have capitulated to the demands of Negro students on campuses. We are acknowledging the Denver communication and advising them that this idea is being considered in a possible forthcoming mass media dissemination.



REC 29

25 JUN 13 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

54 JUN 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8045)

6/10/69

SAC, KANSAS CITY (157-264); P

RE-EPP
OO LA

Re Kansas letter to Bureau dated 4/17/69, and Bureau case entitled "Counter Intelligence Program, Black Nationalist Hate Groups; Racial Intelligence, Bufile 100-448006." Re Kansas City letter to Bureau, 5/9/69, case entitled [REDACTED] Re Los Angeles letter to Kansas City dated 5/12/69 (inter-office).

[REDACTED] Kansas City, Missouri, on 5/28/69, advised [REDACTED] that his department has had no additional credits indicating [REDACTED] has used his [REDACTED] credit card since 1/25/69.

[REDACTED] continues to be very cooperative and advised that should any charges against this credit card be received, he will make this information known to the FBI.

In reference to Los Angeles letter, it was indicated there was possibly information [REDACTED] is now residing in Europe and therefore Kansas City has maintained this case in a pending status that should [REDACTED] whereabouts be established, this information can be furnished on an anonymous basis to an appropriate representative at [REDACTED] per Bureau instructions.

- ④ - Bureau (RM) (2 - 157-8045)
 (2 - 100-448006)
2 - Los Angeles (157-1907) (RM)
4 - Kansas City (2 - 100-12448)
 (2 - 157-864)

JRG:dcw
(10)

NOT RECORDED

46 JUN 12 1969

60 JUN 12 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FBI

Date: 6/5/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBuairtel 5/27/69.

The comments in reairtel have been studied and Bureau instructions will be followed.

In connection with the Breakfast For Children Program (BCP) every effort is being made by this office to obtain material suitable for dissemination outside official channels to prove the program is being utilized by BPP to indoctrinate the youngsters in hate and violence.

San Francisco informants and sources have been requested to obtain copies of BPP Coloring Book. To date we are aware of only one original copy of Coloring Book prepared by [REDACTED] being obtained in this area. It would appear that the book has been prepared by mimeograph and could be easily duplicated.

In the event we are able to ascertain that the Coloring Book is being distributed in connection with BCP, Bureau authority will be requested to forward anonymously, copies of the publication to officials of the churches where the BCP is being held.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco

LB/jmp
(4)

REC-19

JUN 6 1969

Approved: *[Signature]*
61 JUN 18 1969
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

[Handwritten: Fulton]
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO
RACIAL INT. SECT.
- RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 157-801

LB/jmp

The possibility of disrupting BCP through health authorities being advised of fact that BPP leaders at National Headquarters are probably infected with venereal disease has been explored. However, it has been ascertained that food handling permits are no longer required by San Francisco for individual handlers and Health Department permits are not necessary for non-commercial institutions serving food. A further check will be made in other cities where the BCP is active.

The importance of this matter has been brought to the attention of each Agent on the San Francisco Racial Squad and every effort will be made to improve the record of the San Francisco Division in this matter. Agents have also been alerted to our responsibility as Office of Origin in instant case to furnish guidance in the CIP program to the entire field.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Boston (157-654)

6/12/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]

BA

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReWFOairtel and LHM dated 6/3/69 captioned
[REDACTED] Racial Matters."

Referenced communication pointed out that
[REDACTED] attended BPP meetings in Boston in May, 1969.
He was chastised for neglecting BPP business while
[REDACTED]

This situation presents interesting questions
of counterintelligence. Boston should consider this and
other available information concerning [REDACTED] and forward
a specific counterintelligence proposal designed toward
bringing disrepute to the BPP Chapter in Boston. Consider
the possibility of obtaining a photograph of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

1 - San Francisco (157-601)

100-448006-1019

JAM:ra (5)

REC 27

JUN 12 1969

NOTE:

[REDACTED]
Massachusetts. He has been criticized for his unorthodox
activities. We are instructing Boston to submit a specific
counterintelligence proposal concerning [REDACTED]

MAILED 4
JUN 11 1969
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____

1111
JUN 12 1969

WY

SA

JP

67 JUN 17 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-448006-1019

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 6/9/69

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) -P-

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Kansas City letter 5/26/69 to Bureau and
Bureau letter 5/28/69 to Kansas City.

Bureau instructions in referenced Bureau letter
will be closely followed.

BI-WEEKLY LETTER -
PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
AGAINST BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHAPTER, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

No timely counterintelligence action, other than
previously recommended, is suggested against the Kansas
City, Missouri (KCMO) BPP Chapter, particularly in
connection with its Breakfast Program and involving
possible serving of food in that program by venereally
infected persons, for the following reasons:

1. According to previously reported reliable
sources, KCMO BP Chapter's Breakfast Program recently
ceased, prior to Memorial Day, 5/30/69, probably anticipatory
to closing, for summer recess, of KCMO public schools on
6/2-4/69.

2. Though [REDACTED] recently admitted
Gonorrhea (for which possibly he is receiving treatment)
the above indicated discontinuance of the Breakfast Program
and public inapplicability of local health regulations
suggest no counterintelligence action.

1- Bureau (100-448006)(2-105-165706)(AMM) 1 JUN 11 1969
3-San Francisco (2-157-601)(1-157-801)(AMM)
2-Kansas City

HKJ:jlb
(9) 67

RACIAL INT. SECT.

0 JUN 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

12

KC 100-12448

The Bureau is being advised by separate communication, captioned BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) RACIAL MATTER (BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM), as to local health regulations applying to commercial service of food by infected persons. These regulations apparently do not cover non-commercial service of food such as in churches or non-profit social service groups.

6/9/69

Airtel

To: SAC, New Haven (157-785)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) 1017

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM REC-100
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNHairtel 6/3/69.

Permission is granted to disseminate one copy each of the 5/25/69 issue of "The Black Panther" to [REDACTED]. These persons should be advised the FBI is not to be disclosed as the source of this dissemination. In your contact of these persons, you should refrain from any comment concerning the killing of Alex Rackley.

In addition to the 5/25/69 issue of "The Black Panther," New Haven should take notice of the 5/11/69 issue of this newspaper which contained an article captioned "Breakfast for School Children." This article concerns the pressure exerted on businessmen by the BPP to obtain food for use in providing breakfast for ghetto children in several cities throughout the country. The same issue contains an article which points out that a BPP wedding had been held in one of the churches used in the breakfast program. Instead of a Bible, the ceremony was conducted with MAO Tse-tsung's "Little Red Book." After the ceremony the "wedded couple" were serenaded by the children with a song "we want a porkchop, off the pig." New Haven should review this issue and if appropriate furnish this to [REDACTED] under the same circumstances. Advise the Bureau of the results of this dissemination.

JAM:ra (4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 24
JUN 9 - 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

54 JUN 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

M. A. Jones

14

Airtel to SAC, New Haven
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

New Haven has requested permission to furnish public source information to an SAC contact of that office and a friendly television station employee. The SAC contact is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and is on the special correspondence list. The [REDACTED] We have previously approved dissemination of public source data to [REDACTED] Bufiles fail to disclose any derogatory information concerning either of these persons. We are authorizing the request of the New Haven Office to furnish a copy of the BPP publication and are instructing them to review another edition of this publication and if pertinent furnish this one to these people also.

FBI

Date: 6/3/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) (P)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY - (BPP)

Re: Bureau letter dated 5/28/69.

In connection with captioned program, Bureau authority is requested to disseminate one copy each of Sunday,

On page two of the "Black Panther" is an article, obscene in nature dealing with ERICKA HUGGINS' feelings about the incarceration of HUEY P. NEWTON. On page three of the same newspaper is a poem entitled "ERICKA's Poem" which is inflammatory.

In view of [redacted] in connection with the homicide of ALEX RACKLEY, it is felt that both [redacted] could editorialize regarding the BPP and its revolutionary philosophies.

[redacted] is an SAC contact and is felt to be both reliable and discreet and would not attribute any information that he received in this matter to the FBI.

Bureau authority has previously been requested and approved to disseminate public source data to [redacted]

Expeditious handling is requested by Bureau in order that, if approved, action will have the most effect.

2 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - New Haven

LWH/EJF
 (3)

REC-100

JUN 12 1969

16

FBI

Date: 5/26/69

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Kansas City airtel to the Bureau, 5/16/69.

For the information of Kansas City and San Francisco,
 [REDACTED] a Security Index subject, is the Sacramento
 [REDACTED]
 Black Panther".

Review of the "Black Panther" reveals that [REDACTED]
 cartoons regularly appear in that newspaper. They are normally
 in the same brutal vein as those appearing in the BPP coloring
 book.

Other than [REDACTED] rather obvious belief in the BPP
 creed of violence as displayed by his cartoons, the investigation
 of him has revealed nothing noteworthy in comparison to other
 Panthers. There is no indication that he has any part, other
 than providing the "art work", in the production or distribution
 of the coloring book.

2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Kansas City (100-12448) (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (RM)
 2 - Sacramento
 1 - (157-909) TANNER

REJ:jk
 (8)

10 JUN 9 1969

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

55 JUN 23 1969

Special Agent in Charge

17

SC 100-894

In this regard, [REDACTED] a BPP member has advised that no information has come to his attention concerning the production of a coloring book. He is aware of its existence but has heard nothing more about it.

[REDACTED] said on [REDACTED] that two or three weeks previously he was approached to buy one of the coloring books by a BPP member. He declined and since that time has heard nothing more about the book.

The books were apparently being sold out of BPP headquarters in Sacramento, but [REDACTED] does not believe they are prepared here. It is to be noted that [REDACTED] and is

[REDACTED] acquainted with most of the BPP leaders including [REDACTED]

It is presumed that the coloring book is being produced and distributed under the direction of BPP national headquarters in Berkeley and there is no information to indicate that the Sacramento chapter has any part in this activity.

Sacramento BPP sources have been alerted to the Bureau's interest in the coloring book and any information received will be furnished the Bureau and interested offices.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Boston (157-654)

6/5/69

BA
Director, FBI (100-448006)

G
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBSairtel and LHM 5/21/69 captioned Black Panther Party - Boston Racial Matters, Submission of Intelligence Data.

A review of referenced letter discloses that various members of the BPP have submitted their resignations in view of the fact that the BPP is accepting the aid and alliance of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It would be to the benefit of the Bureau that this split in the BPP, Boston, Massachusetts, is widened. Boston should review pertinent files, with a view in mind of disrupting the alliance between BPP and SDS. Forward a specific counterintelligence program concerning this matter.

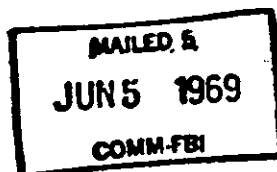
JAM:rel
(5) *rel*

NOTE:

Several BPP members, Boston, Massachusetts, resigned from the Party because the BPP and SDS have been cooperating. We are instructing Boston to review pertinent files and submit a specific counterintelligence program as it pertains to this alliance.

REC 4

100-448006-1015



14 JUN 9 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

51 JUN 12 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

19

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/6/69

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-689) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RM - BPP

ReBulet to San Francisco, 4/23/69, and Buffalo
letter to Director, 5/26/69.

There has been no change in the status of the
Rochester Branch of the Black Panther Party (BPP) subsequent
to the submission of referenced Buffalo letter.

Since the Branch is still in a disorganized state,
it does not have leadership against whom a planned counter-
intelligence project could be operated.

Buffalo will follow this matter closely and keep
the Bureau advised as to its recommendations.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Buffalo

JRC:db1
(4)



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1014
JUN 9 1969
10
RACIAL INT. SEC.
25

FBI

Date: 5/27/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-459) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Remyairtel 5/12/69.

advised on 5/13/69 as follows.

He interviewed [redacted] Milwaukee, re alleged takeover by BPP. [redacted] confirmed that BPP had taken over meeting being held at St. Boniface Church on 5/10/69 and that they had demanded they take over leadership. Some Council members are becoming Panthers but others want nothing to do with them because of militant reputation. Struggle of power still taking place between two groups.

Several known Black Panthers surveilled by Bureau Agents on 5/21/69 and followed to houses at 2121 and 2117 N. 1st St. Lower windows boarded up and upper windows painted black. BPP apparently using buildings as headquarters.

Above confirmed by [redacted] supra, on this date. [redacted] stated BPP trying to make 2121 N. 1st St. permanent headquarters but his department has developed info this building to be razed in near future.

No info received to date that BPP has been able to institute Breakfast for Children Program in Milwaukee.

Milwaukee continuing vigorous investigation to develop further info re power struggle between BPP and NAACP Youth Council, as well as institution of Breakfast for Children

2 - Bureau
1 - Milwaukee
RAB:EAK

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

55 JUN 13 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

MI 157-459

**Program in Milwaukee in order to develop areas for effective
employment of counterintelligence measures.**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : *lup/jz*
FROM :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/6/69

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (BPP)
BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM
RM

Re Bulet 5/28/69.

On 6/3/69, [REDACTED]

advised [REDACTED] as follows:

It has been many years since San Francisco has required a health certificate or permit for individual food handlers. Permits from the Department for handling of food are only required by those establishments operating for a profit and therefore, churches and charity affairs are not required to obtain a permit. Even those permits for commercial establishments are issued to a certain address and employees are not required to obtain any special permit for food handling.

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/rlg
(3)

REC 13

EX-103

18 JUN 9 1969

55 JUN 13 1969

REC'D INT. SECT.
810
[Signature]

23

6/5/69

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-10)
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM - BPP
SUBMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE DATA

ReBuairtel to Albany 11/19/68, and Cincinnati
airtel to Bureau 5/22/69.

Cincinnati still has no known BPP chapters.

A local chapter of the Black Panthers was located in Columbus, Ohio, but this chapter was not affiliated with the national organization. They have lost their headquarters, and have taken no action since the early part of March, 1969. It appears that this group has become defunct; however, information has been received that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], has contacted the BPP in Chicago in an effort to obtain information re formation of a BPP chapter. No new chapter of the BPP has been formed in Columbus. We are following this situation very carefully, and will comply with Bureau instructions and San Francisco requests if and when a chapter is formed in Columbus.

- (3) - Bureau (2 - 105-165706-10) (RM)
(1 - 100-448006, Counterintelligence Program)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2137) (RM)
- 5 - Cincinnati (157-2346)

JTP:jms
(10)

100-448006-
NOT RECORDED
98 JUN 24 1969

70 JUN 27 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN
105-165706-10

24

CI 157-2346

[redacted] who is familiar with the efforts of [redacted] to organize a BPP chapter in Cincinnati, advised on 6/3/69, that [redacted] continues to do nothing about organizing a BPP chapter in Cincinnati. [redacted] is the only so called member of the BPP at the present time, and [redacted] and when a BPP chapter is formed in Cincinnati.

[redacted] has not been able to accomplish formation of a BPP chapter in Steubenville, Ohio. He has made some financial contributions to the BPP, and has apparently attempted to form a Steubenville chapter, but he has been completely unsuccessful. He has not been able to obtain any support from the black community in Steubenville. We are also following this situation very carefully, and will handle it if and when a chapter is formed.

All Agents handling racial matters are familiar with efforts to form chapters of the BPP in Cincinnati, Columbus, and Steubenville, and they are aware of the importance of this matter. They have all been instructed to submit any pertinent information received immediately. Cincinnati has nothing to report as we do not have any BPP chapters or activity in the Cincinnati Division at this time.

COMMENTS RE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

Cincinnati has no recommendations re Counterintelligence Program in connection with BPP chapters at this time as we have no chapters. Recommendations will be submitted if and when BPP chapters are formed in the Cincinnati Division.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/4/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 (Bufile 100-448006)
 (CG file 157-2209)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
 (Bufile 100-449168)
 (CG file 100-45316)

Re Bureau letter to Chicago, 5/21/69.

Referenced letter gives Chicago authority to instruct selected BPP informants for use in creating a rift between the BPP and the Students for a Democratic Society.

In the initial stages of this program, Chicago will primarily

Chicago is also considering the mechanics and preparation of a cartoon (or cartoons) type leaflet or brochure, which would serve to highlight the supposed subservient role of BPP to SDS, on the order of a white radical mounted on a black panther. This matter is being handled jointly from the above captioned files by Chicago, and the Bureau will be in receipt of a suitable recommendation when this approach is finalized.

No counterintelligence activity will be initiated without prior Bureau authority.

4 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 JCS/eje
 (6)



59 JUN 17 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-13
 REC'D CIVIL RIGHTS

JUN 9 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

FILE

26

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/4/69

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

RE Bureau airtel to Albany dated 3/4/68, and
Pittsburgh letter to Bureau dated 3/13/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

[REDACTED], has been named [REDACTED]
black students for scholarships at the University of
Pittsburgh. Counterintelligence action to neutralize
[REDACTED] in this position or to remove him entirely from the
position is being considered by the Pittsburgh Office.

Counterintelligence action is being considered
against the Half-Way Art Gallery, 2016 Centre Avenue,
Pittsburgh [REDACTED]

The Half-Way Art Gallery is
funded by the Episcopal Church of Sewickley, Pa., and counter-
intelligence action is being considered which will result
in the withdrawal of this financial support from the gallery.
It is to be noted that the Half-Way Art Gallery has been
utilized in the past as a place where narcotics are used
and stolen goods have been stored.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

Information concerning the violent nature of the
United Black Brotherhood has been furnished to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] with the suggestion that
he consider exposing [REDACTED] as a member of this group.
It is noted that [REDACTED] is included on the Agitator
Index and the Security Index of this office. He has been
publicly identified as the [REDACTED]
the United Black Brotherhood. [REDACTED] indicated that he

(2) Bureau (RM)
2 - Pittsburgh
LMC:rmr
(4)

REC-49

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JUN 17 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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will, at the first opportunity, utilize the public source material made available to him to expose this activity on the part of [REDACTED]

Public source data concerning [REDACTED] has also been furnished to [REDACTED] with the suggestion that this information be used to publicly expose [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised that he and the "Pittsburgh Press" are extremely concerned about the position [REDACTED] has in relation to obtaining scholarships for black students at the University of Pittsburgh and is extremely desirous of having him removed from this position if possible. [REDACTED] indicated that at the opportune time he will utilize the public source information furnished to him.

3. Tangible Results

Information concerning the background and militant activities of [REDACTED] who agreed to take possible action to terminate [REDACTED] employment with the Urban League and, if possible, to terminate such employment which tended to lend an air of respectability to [REDACTED] activities. [REDACTED]

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

On 4/28/69, the Pittsburgh City Council enacted an ordinance banning the carrying of unconcealed firearms on the streets of the city. It is noted that prior to the time this ordinance was enacted the only "gun law" in effect in Pittsburgh was the state Uniform Firearms Act, which prohibited only the carrying of concealed weapons.

It is noted that [REDACTED] on a charge of violation of the Uniform Firearms Act when he was observed to have a rifle in the automobile which he was driving. The charge of violation of the Uniform Firearms Act was subsequently dismissed against [REDACTED] inasmuch as it was determined that the rifle had not been concealed. The aforementioned city ordinance was then passed to cover such a situation.

PG 100-15780

There have been no further significant changes in the overall Black Nationalist movement in the Pittsburgh area since the submission of referenced letter.

Memorandum

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM G. C. Moore *gc*

SUBJECT COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- DATE: June 4, 1969
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒ _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Attached is a memorandum for dissemination under the Mass Media Program entitled "Propaganda for Breakfast" which sets forth information concerning the Black Panther Party and its attempts to conduct a Breakfast for Children Program.

The BPP is a notorious black extremist group which advocates and practices violence. This group has initiated a program to feed breakfast to ghetto children. The announced purpose is "humanitarian." The real purpose is, among other things, to gain control of the ghetto community, poison the minds of ghetto children with antiwhite propaganda and to cloak the illegal activities of the BPP with some segment of respectability.

Attached points out that this group used threats to obtain food from businessmen and that the children are the innocent victims of this notorious scheme. It quotes the Black Panther newspaper as calling on the people to "kill" businessmen who refuse to contribute to the program. It contains information from the newspaper about the BPP conducting a wedding in one of the churches used for the breakfast ceremony, where the children serenaded the married couple by calling for the killing of policemen. It urges sympathetic priests and ministers to think twice before supporting this program.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached memorandum and copies of pertinent newspaper articles appearing in the Black Panther newspaper be forwarded to Crime Records Division for dissemination to appropriate news media representatives.

REC 4. 2 JUN 9 1969

JUN 17 1969
Enclosures
JAM:sc (8)

"PROPAGANDA FOR BREAKFAST"

The notorious Black Panther Party of Oakland, California, is not satisfied with the poisoning of the minds of its members against both the black and white races; the engaging in gun duels with both black and white police officers in cities all over the country; and the urging of Negroes to withdraw from the main stream of American life. The group has added new victims in its race to oblivion. These victims are up to now innocent of all racism and knowledge of violence. These victims are the hope of future race relations between races. These victims are children. They are the children of decent black people now living in ghetto areas.

Several weeks ago the Black Panther Party instigated a program entitled "Free Breakfast for Children Program." Their plans call for the obtaining of food from businessmen now operating in ghetto areas throughout the country. This food is, of course, "donated." Churches and schools are the sites of the breakfasts and free labor is obtained from Black Panther Party workers as well as misguided ghetto mothers. This program is existing in several cities today. Several hundred children are being fed daily by the Black Panther Party. In order to better understand the reasons behind this program, we need only look to statements made by the Panthers themselves in their newspaper "The Black Panther."

The Black Panther issue of May 11, 1969, contained an article captioned "Breakfast for School Children." This article concerns the methods used by the Black Panther Party in obtaining food from white and black businessmen for use in the breakfast program. The following was set forth in the article, "the BPP has also hounded the avaricious businessmen infesting the black community who rob and steal" from the black community. The article also points out that some of these businessmen have contributed and some have "refused to cooperate." Concerning those businessmen who refused to cooperate, the article states "Therefore, we call on the masses of oppressed peoples to kill this worm of economic exploitation." The article ends up with the statement "all power to the people." The above points out the method used by this group in obtaining the food for their "humanitarian" efforts.

100-111-1009
ENCLOSURE

31

An example of one of the real reasons behind the Black Panther Party breakfast program is found in the same issue of the Black Panther newspaper in an article captioned "Black Revolutionary Wedding." This article points out that a revolutionary wedding took place in the same church that the breakfasts were given in Oakland, California. The ceremony between two Black Panther Party members was carried out by the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. In place of the Holy Bible, Seale used the "Red Book, Quotations from Mao Tse-tung." The crowd attending the wedding consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the community who attend the breakfast program every morning. The article went on to state that after the ceremony the couple was serenaded by the children to the revolutionary song "We want a pork chop, off the pig." For the information of the uninformed, "off the pig" means kill the police.

The above is a good example of what is going on during these breakfasts and illustrates the reason why the Black Panther Party started them. They were started to instill poisonous propaganda into the minds of small children. It is the same trick used by communists, fascists, and other totalitarians for centuries. The article illustrates the mockery that is being made of sympathetic ministers and priests who furnish churches for these people under the cloak of humanitarianism.

Before any additional well-intentioned, uninformed "humanitarians" attempt to aid this so called party, they had better acquaint themselves with the pressure techniques, the illegality, the violence, and the racist activities of the group itself. The attempts to poison the minds of the black children of this country will fail. But if one child is poisoned with hate through the efforts of the Black Panther Party, society must take the blame. This group must be continually exposed for what it is and not for what it is not, and that is a representative of the black man.



BLACK PANTHER REVOLUTIONARY WEDDING

On May Day, Thursday, May 1st a revolutionary wedding took place. The wedding was to unite in revolutionary matrimony, Black Panther Brother Charles Bursey and Panther Sister Shelly Sanders.

The wedding was the first of its kind here in decadent, racist America. The ceremony was performed at the Church of the Minister of Religion of the Black Panther Party, Father Earl Neil. The

Church is located at 27th and West Streets in West Oakland.

The Church is also the site of one of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children programs. The ceremony was officially carried out by the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. In place of a Holy Bible, Chairman Bobby used the Red Book "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung". The crowd attending the

wedding consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the community, who attended the breakfast program every morning.

The marrying couple looked radiantly revolutionary in their Panther uniforms of black and Panther blue. After the ceremony, the united couple were serenaded by the children to the revolutionary song of "We want a pork chop, off the pig".

100-44-1-1
ENCLOSURE

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QUESTION

(A)

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SUSAN

the open and carry out your coun-
ter-revolutionary line. Therefore
you must try and split the Libera-
tion Movement indirectly. The gar-
bage you are peddling in this latest
article is a rehash of the "white-
controlled" Panthers, which other
counter-revolutionaries have ped-
dled before you took up the cudgel.
This latest attack on the Black
Panther Party is unfortunate but
it is a continuation of your snake
criticisms of them in the past.
Criticisms which it must be said
were not offered in a sincere or
brotherly fashion.

For one who has never taken a
position on the question of National
Liberation in the past--beyond the
"movement"--your latest column
is a curious mixture of reactionary
nationalism of the type put forth
by the Wardens and Karengas mas-
querading as progressive national-
ism and even internationalism.
For whatever the shortcomings of
SDS--and any serious organization
will certainly have some--the atti-
tude of a genuine revolutionary
toward that organization is gen-
erally formed by the attitude that
the subject organization takes to-
ward its own mistakes. SDS ap-
pears to take a serious attitude

job for the bourgeoisie, which
leads him not only to these self-
contradictory positions, but to out-
right hostility to the question of
"revolution in the mother country
and national liberation in the colo-
ny."

But Julius Lester has to be
viewed in his proper context--a
petty bourgeois intellectual who
hates the Black workers and
masses and who serves as the
Guardian's alter ego. It is no ac-
cident that Lester's criminal ar-
ticle happens to be the longest in
recent Guardian history, takes over
one full page and is neatly
balanced by an "editorial" "Sup-
port the Panthers." Politics have
a way of being akin to a telegraph
system. It is impossible to take a
dual position of support to the do-
mestic struggle against oppression
and hostility to the international
class brothers of the oppressed.

Sooner or later, the piper has
to be paid. So it is with Julius
Lester's anti-Panther, anti-Black
Revolution article. We support the
Black Panther Party wholeheart-
edly.

GLOBAL VIEWS
W.J.L. Sherman

RIESEL

the Chair-
Party that
qualify to
They stated
reach into
dolars. The
now what's
stated
the organ-
lation that
at the Pan-
their guns.

the Chairman stated that if they
wanted to give the Black Panther
Party some money; right on; but
the Party would not disarm itself!
In fact, the money would be used to
buy more guns and arm the Black
Community.

The agents said this would not
work. The Chairman's reply was,
"Get the fuck out of our office and
go back to your slave-masters".

One can only guess where Victor
Riesel gets his information. It would
seem to the Black Panther Party that
the agents sent out to co-opt the Party
and try to buy it off reported it
their masters. "Mission accom-
plished" and pocketed the money and
kept it for themselves, if Washington
is missing some millions of dollars

Dynamite



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 6/5/69
(Attn: Mr. GEORGE MOORE, Room 814 9th and D)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Forwarded under separate cover are the below items obtained from the New Haven State Headquarters of the BPP incidental to the arrest of the State leadership in the murder of ALEX RACKLEY. These items were confiscated by the New Haven Police Department and turned over to FBI New Haven as a matter of cooperation. Items forwarded for use of the Bureau in connection with captioned program and for training and exhibit purposes.

Item #	Description	#
(1)	Speech by JOSE R. GONZALVEZ, JR.	3
(2)	HUEY NEWTON talks to the Movement	1
(3)	Poster ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER	1
(4)	Poster "LIL" BOBBY HUTTON	3
(5)	Poster JOHN HUGGINS	1
(6)	LP record "DIG" by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	1
(7)	Poster "It Won't be Long"	1
(8)	Poster ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, All Power to the People	3
(9)	Poster ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	2
(10)	Poster Quotation of Mao Tse Tung	3
(11)	Poster HUEY P. NEWTON	2
(12)	Poster Black Art	1
(13)	Black Panther Party-Local Publication	2
(14)	Black Panther Party Draft Notice	4
(15)	Free Huey flags	2
(16)	MALCOLM X poster	3
(17)	Poster STOKLEY CARMICHAEL	2

(3) - Bureau (1-package) (RM)
1 - New Haven
LWH/jmf
(4)

JUN 9 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



JUN 23 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 6/5/69

Re San Diego letter to the Bureau 5/5/69,
San Diego airtel to the Bureau 5/6/69, Los Angeles letter
to the Bureau 5/14/69, Bureau letter to San Diego 5/20/69,
San Diego airtel to the Bureau 5/27/69, and Bureau letter
to San Diego 5/28/69.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

San Diego, at the present time, is attempting to obtain additional information concerning [REDACTED] reported embezzlement of funds from the Public School Milk Fund. At the present time it is felt that any type of an attack on this activity as it relates to [REDACTED] might compromise the security of a confidential informant. If and when information in this regard is obtained which could be utilized and at the same time in no way jeopardize an informant, an appropriate counterintelligence request will be submitted.

[REDACTED] was observed by several individuals fondling a white girl on the San Diego State College campus during a rally. An appropriate letter is being prepared and will be sent to the Bureau for approval protesting this situation at BPP headquarters. The letter will indicate that [REDACTED] continues his association with white girls even though he has been specifically instructed to cease all of this type of activity.

- ② - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - San Diego

RLB:bef
(4)

REC 4

2 JUN 9 1969

55 JUN 16 1969

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Another cartoon is currently being prepared and will be submitted for Bureau evaluation upon its completion.

At the present time one additional request is awaiting Bureau evaluation concerning a cartoon which appeared in a local student newspaper.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

The Bureau-approved cartoons continue to be mailed on approximately ten-day intervals.

Information concerning child beating by [REDACTED] was furnished by anonymous letter on commercially purchased stationery mailed from the Logan Heights ghetto area. The letter was sent to the San Diego Police Department, Juvenile Bureau, which handles mistreatment of minor children cases. No tangible results have been observed concerning this letter aside from the fact that information was received from [REDACTED] indicating that a child beating complaint had been received against [REDACTED]

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

On 5/16/69, members of the San Diego Police Department, Vice Squad, raided the Shalimar Restaurant as a result of the Bureau approved information furnished to that detail. Two arrests were effected and a quantity of illegal whiskey was seized. The important factor in this regard appears to be that members of the BPP no longer feel secure in meeting in this location late at night. As a result they have ceased to patronize the establishment.

The current whereabouts of the vehicle belonging to BPP member [REDACTED] was furnished to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as per Bureau approval. [REDACTED] vehicle was located and repossessed [REDACTED] Absolutely no reference to the FBI as the source of the information as to the location of the vehicle was made.

SD 100-14192

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Things currently remain in a state of complete chaos within the ranks of the BPP. This situation has been compounded by the recent murder of BPP member JOHN SAVAGE on 5/23/69. The murder is believed to have been committed by [REDACTED] a member of the US organization.

On the day of the murder, information was picked up by [REDACTED] that one [REDACTED] was responsible for the killing. This information was immediately disseminated to the San Diego Police Department along with the identities of the three known US members who utilize the Swahili name of [REDACTED]. In addition, San Diego Police Department was furnished the information that of the three individuals, [REDACTED] could most logically be considered as the individual responsible for an act of this nature due to his past history. As a result, San Diego Police Department currently has an outstanding warrant charging [REDACTED] with the murder of SAVAGE. In addition, the San Diego Office is presently obtaining UFAP process against [REDACTED] due to the fact it is believed he has fled from the State of California.

On 5/23/69, information was also received from [REDACTED] that a group of BPP members were going to depart from Los Angeles en route to San Diego to "investigate" the killing of SAVAGE. This information was immediately furnished to the Intelligence Unit of the San Diego Police Department. The information proved to be reliable in view of the fact that approximately six BPP members did arrive in San Diego on 5/25/69.

At the present time the conflict between the BPP and the US organization appears to be increasing. There are reported clashes between the two groups on a frequent basis ranging from mere harassment up to and including beatings of various individuals. All of these activities are being closely followed for any potential counterintelligence activity.

FBI

Date: 6/3/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Sacramento airtel to the Bureau, 5/16/69.

Except for continuing to constantly be on the lookout for an opportunity to drive an additional wedge into the Vallejo Chapter of the Black Panther Party, Sacramento has no further counterintelligence measure contemplated at the present time.

ST 102

REC-128

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Sacramento (1 - 100-894)
(1 - 157-52E)

GMS/kah
(4)

1 JUN 6 1969

39 JUN 12 1969
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

39

FBI

Date: 5/16/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Bulet, 5/14/69, to Kansas City, copies to San Francisco (157-801; 157-601), refers to Kansas City letter, 4/22/69, captioned "Black Panther Party, Kansas City Division, Racial Matters"; and "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence", which set out a lead for the San Francisco Office to determine the printer, distributor, or artist, possibly connected with National BPP Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif., of a "Coloring Book" obviously designed for school children, purchased by a source at the Kansas City, Missouri, BP Chapter Headquarters, in March, 1969.

Above-referred-to Bulet stated the Kansas City Division's counterintelligence proposal as to dissemination of information pertaining to the "Black Panther Coloring Book" was being held in abeyance pending completion of the lead set forth for San Francisco, above, and noted if determination could be made the BPP is printing these coloring books, a widespread counterintelligence proposal might be more effective than the local dissemination in Kansas City, Missouri, proposed by the Kansas City Division.

- ② Bureau (AM)(RM)
 2 San Francisco (AM)(RM)
 2 Sacramento (AM)(RM)
 3 Kansas City
 (2 - 100-12448-128)
 (1 - 100-12571)

HMJ:rmb

(1)

ST 102

5-J. R. R. R. R. R.

100-448006-10051-001

JUN 6 1969

7/1/69

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

59 JUN 12 1969

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KC 100-12448

For the information of all recipients of this airtel, Bulet, 5/6/69, to Kansas City, captioned Black Panther Party Kansas City Division, Racial Matters, copies to San Francisco (157-2570) and to Sacramento (157-907), refers to above Kansas City letter 4/22/69 and advised the Bureau had not previously received a copy of the coloring book; further, that the artist of the drawings in the coloring book is a new cartoonist for the Black Panther Party who signs his name [REDACTED]

Kansas City airtel, 5/14/69, to Bureau, captioned Black Panther Party (BPP) Kansas City Division, Racial Matters, copies to San Francisco and Sacramento, set forth lead for Sacramento to appropriately advise Kansas City re pertinent developments in investigation of [REDACTED] and particularly of any information reflecting a distribution of coloring books nationwide by the National BPP.

The purpose of this airtel is to clarify for all recipients the above matter.

San Francisco and Sacramento should appropriately advise the Bureau and the Kansas City Office, as well as each other, concerning all leads in this matter for San Francisco and Sacramento in order that the Bureau may be in a position to consider appropriate counterintelligence action with regard to possibly nationwide distribution of the coloring book.

Copies of the coloring book were furnished to Bureau, San Francisco, and Sacramento by Kansas City airtel and LHM dated 5/14/69, in matter captioned Black Panther Party (BPP) Kansas City Division, Racial Matters.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6-4-69

FROM : SAC, Jacksonville (157-1523)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS.
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

ReBuairtel 4-24-69.

Jacksonville Office has no material such as that requested in referenced communication.

Jacksonville is remaining alert for any such material so that it can promptly be submitted to the Bureau.

REC-26

5 JUN 4 1969

1-806
(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Jacksonville

TJW:kqb
(3)

De [Signature]
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

5 JUN 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-3138)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 3/4/68, New Orleans letter to Bureau, 2/27/69, New Orleans airtel to Bureau, 5/20/69, and Bureau letter to New Orleans, 5/28/69.

BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Since submission of referenced New Orleans letter, 2/27/69, there have been several significant developments in the Black Nationalist field in New Orleans.

On [REDACTED] while attending a conference of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were arrested by Detroit Police Officers at the New Bethel Church, Detroit, Michigan. This arrest was in connection with the shooting of two Detroit Police Officers by RNA members. Subsequently, [REDACTED]

1-806 D
Bureau (RM)
- New Orleans
JH/bnk

REC-114

25 JUN 5 1969

REC'D 201

RACIAL INT. SECT.

31 JUN 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

43

NO 105-3138

To date, [REDACTED] has not done this and he and [REDACTED] are residing together in New Orleans.

In early [REDACTED] under the sponsorship of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reportedly planned to visit [REDACTED] during her travels. In her absence, [REDACTED] of the southern region of the RNA was designated to act as [REDACTED]. Subsequent to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] became involved in activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in New Orleans, and as a result, was arrested by New Orleans PD along with other SNCC affiliates when they attempted to read the Black Manifesto at a New Orleans church. Upon the determination by [REDACTED] was involved in the Black Manifesto, she contacted [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] issued an ultimatum to [REDACTED] to make a press release which would state that he had associated with the Black Manifesto only for unity of militant groups in New Orleans and that the RNA no longer supported the Black Manifesto. To date, [REDACTED] has not made this press release. At the present time, the RNA in New Orleans is split into factions, these being the followers of [REDACTED] and the followers of the orders of the Detroit RNA. New Orleans does not feel that this split will be healed without the guidance of [REDACTED] who is still outside the United States.

On 4/9/69, a group of Negro militants made up primarily of members of the Afro American Society (AAS) at Southern University, New Orleans, (SUNO), lowered the American flag at that school and replaced it with a so called black liberation flag. Following this incident, ~~that took place~~, a number of demonstrations and disruptions at the SUNO campus occurred which culminated in late May, 1969, with the expulsion of the majority of the militant members of the AAS from SUNO.

I. Operations Under Consideration

By airtel dated 5/20/69, New Orleans set forth a plan which would involve the preparation of a letter which would advise [redacted] of the relationship between [redacted] in New Orleans. Bureau authority was granted on 5/28/69 for New Orleans to prepare an anonymous letter to [redacted] and this is currently being prepared by the New Orleans Office. New Orleans believes that the above would be the first phase of three phase move on the RNA in New Orleans. The second step of this will be the interview of [redacted] concerning his knowledge of the shooting of the Detroit Police Officers on 3/29/69. This interview will be conducted in such a manner that it will appear that the source of information regarding [redacted] is an individual who is out to get him. The third step of this operations will be the arrest by FBI Agents of [redacted] who has been identified by [redacted]

[redacted] and New Orleans hopes to achieve the effect of having [redacted] believe that the move against [redacted] was brought about by [redacted]

[redacted]

III. Tangible Results

At the present time, due to the widening gap between the SNCC and the RNA in New Orleans, [redacted] has been to a degree discredited with RNA members and the New Orleans RNA is completely disrupted.

[redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: May 21, 1969

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC/pil*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Scipio
5/20/69
R/K

Attached is an article concerning the criminal activities of the Black Panther Party (BPP) for the Crime Records Division to furnish a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis.

The extremist and highly violent BPP has been involved in criminal activities since its inception. The BPP has been involved in robberies, attacks on police officers, and other serious crimes. Many individual members have long criminal records. Details of this activity have been compiled in the attached article.

Exposure of these activities by nationwide news media would show the true nature of this extremist group.

ACTION:

That attached article be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division to expose the criminal nature of the BPP.

Enclosure

100-448006

ENCLOSURE

TJD:ekw (9)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

55 JUN 11 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan *WCS*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Scipio
5/20/69
R/K

JUN 6 1969

46

PREDATORY PARAGRAPHS

Those who live in neighborhoods infested with Black Panther Party members are finding out that this pro-Chinese Communist revolutionary group is actually a collection of thugs and hoodlums.

The Black Panther Party claims it was formed to protect Negroes from police brutality, but now the question has become, who is to protect the Negro from the Black Panthers? For the members of this group, most of whom have long criminal records, continue their criminal behavior while using Party membership as a mask for their deprivations. And their victims are not white; their activities are in the ghetto, and as is the case with ordinary criminals, the ghetto dweller suffers the most.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) recently made a point of criminality in the ghetto. An NAACP committee on crime reported, "The reign of criminal terror in Harlem must be stopped now. The lives and property of the people are in constant danger by

Mr. Tolson day and night." The NAACP spoke out against "marauding
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr hoodlums," who attack "black or white" and specially prey
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan on "the old, the weak, and the handicapped."

Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan Contrast the NAACP's position with that of Huey Newton,
Mr. Tavel Black Panther Party Minister of Defense, now serving a prison
Mr. Trotter sentence for killing a police officer. On October 31, 1967,
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mail Room ☐

100 448006 - 100

47

Newton pronounced the Panther credo, "As long as an act is revolutionary, it cannot be regarded as a crime."

Panther Crime

On January 17, 1969, Los Angeles police saw a "revolutionary act" in progress. Police spotted four men in a stolen car, and when the car was stopped one subject jumped out, fired a shotgun at police, and the car roared off again. After a short chase police successfully stopped the car and a gun battle broke out. One subject was critically wounded. The other subjects admitted they had just committed an armed robbery of a drive-in restaurant in their stolen car and were then on their way to mug Negro security officers in order to get guns. This group was led by a Los Angeles Black Panther.

In Seattle, Washington, Curtis Harris, Captain of the Black Panther Party, was arrested 11/25/68 after an armed robbery in which four shots were fired. The robbers escaped from this robbery in a red Mustang which was traced to Harris through the license number and found in front of his residence with the engine still warm. However, Harris was released when witnesses failed to identify him. Other members of the Panthers in Seattle have been arrested for armed robbery, carrying concealed weapons, theft, burglary, arson and escape from custody.

48

New York City Black Panthers were arrested 11/21/68 in Stamford, Connecticut, in possession of a stolen car. Guns, ammunition, handcuffs and a map showing bank locations in Stamford were found in the car. In nearby New Haven, Connecticut, two Panthers have been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for transporting firearms across the state line.

Panthers were arrested and charged with fire bombing a grocery store in Baltimore, Maryland, in August, 1968. Two Panthers were sentenced to five years in April, 1969, for this crime. Panthers were arrested at their headquarters Des Moines, Iowa, for arson which destroyed an A & P store and a lumber yard in October, 1968. Seattle Black Panthers were responsible for an armed robbery in Eugene, Oregon, and a Panther drove the getaway car during a Brinks robbery and murder of a guard in Berkeley, California, in January, 1969.

The Lieutenant of Education of the Panthers in Seattle was arrested March 14, 1969, for robbery of the Fidelity Mutual Savings Bank in Seattle on March 7, 1969. A Panther arrested in Baltimore on February 25, 1969, was found to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The Captain of the Black Panther Party in Eugene, Oregon, Howard Douglas Anderson, Jr., was indicted March 24, 1969, for assault with a dangerous weapon, as was his brother, Tommy Lee Anderson.

Between November, 1968, and February, 1969, some fourteen members of the Panthers in New York City were arrested

for serious crimes. Among these were ~~VAC~~ Manuel Perex, arrested for the November 29, 1968, machine gunning of the Fifth Precinct police station in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Joudon Ford, Deputy Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party in New York, was arrested by the FBI for carrying a concealed weapon on board an aircraft. Donald Gregory Weems was arrested in Newark, New Jersey, on February 17, 1969, for bank robbery. Weems was wounded in a chase following the robbery.

Ann Stewart, who used the name Ife Balagoon, was arrested December 31, 1968, attempting the robbery of a subway station booth. She was also charged with firing a pistol during this robbery attempt. Another Panther was arrested as a deserter.

In the apartment of one arrested Panther police found a rifle, 71 sticks of dynamite, 100 instantaneous dynamite caps and 50 feet of explosive primer cord.

Six Panthers were arrested in Newark, New Jersey, on March 2, 1969, for possession of a stolen car and four Party members were charged in Chicago, Illinois, on April 11, 1969, by Federal authorities for buying machine guns.

Attacks on Police

The Black Panther Party was organized ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the black community from its "occupying army," which is what the Panthers call local police.

This "protection," in practice, has worked out to be continuous, unprovoked, and deadly attacks on police by armed Panther members. An early instance of this was an attack on Berkeley, California, police by Panther leaders Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. Police were attempting to arrest Seale and Newton for shouting obscene statements in a restaurant; the two Panthers bit and kicked the two arresting officers, a crowd collected and screamed "Cut him! Stab him!" whereupon Bobby Seale pulled out a knife and made several passes at one of the officers.

The Black Panther Party has long advocated that Negroes arm themselves. The group first got national publicity when 12 Panthers carrying rifles, shotguns, and handguns visited the California State Capitol on May 2, 1967, and forced their way onto the floor of the Assembly Chamber. Since then, especially in California, Panthers have flaunted their carrying of weapons openly in public. Oakland, California, police on May 22, 1967, were investigating a complaint against juveniles observed carrying a sawed-off shotgun. The officers were accosted by three Black Panther Party members, including Huey Newton who was armed with a dagger with a 9½" long blade. Newton held the knife in the face of one of the officers and threatened to cut his throat. During the arraignment of these three Panthers following their arrest, Panther leaders Bobby Seale and Bobby Hutton were arrested in the courthouse for carrying shotguns with barrels of illegal length..

On October 26, 1967, an officer of the Oakland Police Department stopped a car driven by Huey Newton for a traffic violation. While the officer was awaiting the results of a radio inquiry as to whether the car was stolen, Newton shot and killed him. Newton critically wounded the second police officer and was wounded himself. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and given a prison sentence of 2 to 14 years.

Police in Oakland on April 6, 1968, attempted to question the occupants of two parked cars. Among these individuals were 15 Black Panther Party members, including leaders Eldridge Cleaver and David Hilliard. The Panthers opened fire as officers approached the parked cars and a 90-minute gun battle left one Panther dead, another injured and two police officers wounded. Cleaver and six other members of the Black Panther Party were charged with attempted murder as police learned that the Panthers had been driving around in an attempt to ambush police.

On July 28, 1968, two members of the Black Panther Party in New York City threw a Molotov cocktail into an empty police car and completely destroyed it. The Panthers had telephoned police with a phony complaint and when officers arrived in response to the complaint the car was set on fire. Across the country at Seattle, Washington, on the next day, officers arrested two Panther leaders on theft charges. Following the arrest, snipers fired at police cars, injuring one officer. Another policeman was injured.

A gun battle erupted in Los Angeles on August 6, 1968, when police officers approached a car at a service station. Three members of the Black Panther Party were shot and killed and two police officers were wounded. Three days later in the same city, police were fired upon by a group of Negroes, several of whom were recognized as Black Panther Party members. Police returned the fire and eight Negroes were arrested.

In New York City on August 21, 1968, firemen responding to a rubbish fire were the targets of thrown missiles. Police were summoned and as a result, three Black Panther Party members were arrested for assault. They pled guilty to assault charges on December 16, 1968.

Three members of the Panthers were arrested by Los Angeles police on August 31, 1968, after an unsuccessful attempt to ambush police officers. Shots were fired in one area in an attempt to lure police to the site but the attempted ambush failed when police approached the area from an unexpected direction.

On September 24, 1968, a Panther in Jersey City, New Jersey, stood in the middle of the street blocking a police car. When police attempted to arrest this individual a large number of Panther members burst out of a nearby building and attacked police with night sticks and sawed-off pool cues. Four police officers were injured and three

A Berkeley, California, police officer stopped a car on November 18, 1968, for a traffic violation. As the officer approached the automobile one of the occupants opened fire, sending a bullet through the clothing of the policeman. The officer returned the fire, wounding the driver of the car. All three occupants of the automobile were found to be members of the Black Panther Party.

In San Francisco, on November 19, 1968, three police officers were wounded when they stopped a truck suspected of being involved in a robbery. Seven of the eight individuals in the truck were identified as members of the Black Panther Party and the truck itself was a delivery vehicle for the Black Panther Party newspaper.

During the evening of November 29, 1968, the 5th Precinct police station in Jersey City, New Jersey, was hit by 36 shots from an automatic weapon. Three Black Panther Party members were arrested for this attack.

Seattle, Washington, Black Panther Party member Garner Earl Brooks was arrested in connection with his shooting at a Seattle police car on January 11, 1969.

On January 17, 1969, in New York City two patrolmen investigated a car parked at the side of an expressway. Two Negro men standing by the car told police they were having motor trouble; then one suddenly opened fire with a pistol. One policeman was hit and both the Negroes fled. A 19-year-old girl later told police she saw the car and the men.

on this ambush "to prove herself." A .38 caliber revolver was found at the scene, two Panther members were identified as the assailants, and a loaded, high-powered rifle was found in the rental car used by the group. Two other Panthers had rented the car.

Criminal Backgrounds

One reason for criminal activity by the Black Panther Party is the criminal backgrounds of many Party members. The ranks of the Panthers are filled by a large number of hoodlums with long criminal records. For example, Jorge Aponte, Jr., a Brooklyn New York Panther Lieutenant was convicted of attempted robbery with a sawed-off shotgun in 1961.

Jerome Chambers, a Panther in Newark, New Jersey, has over twenty arrests, including arrests for larceny, assault, robbery, and narcotics violations. Isaiah Rowley, also of the Newark Panthers, has been arrested for armed robbery, breaking and entering, looting, narcotics violations and assault on a police officer.

Anthony Coston of the New York City Black Panther Party was arrested in 1960 for assault and robbery. Fred Alan Hampton, Field Director, of the Chicago Black Panther Party, has a long arrest record, including several arrests for mob action, aggravated assault, and robbery. Tommy Lee Horne, of the San Diego, California, Panthers, has several burglary convictions. Carver Gene Hoblett, East Coast Field Marshal of

The Black Panther Party has a great attraction for young hoodlums; they can continue their criminal activities under the guise of being "revolutionaries" rather than common thugs. Like the Nazi street brawlers they like to clothe their crime in a cloak of philosophical justification.

FBI

Date: 5/23/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
ATTN: SAGGEORGE MOORE, RACIAL MATTERS

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-29488)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS)
BUDED: 5/23/69

Re Seattle airtel to Director, FBI, Seattle file 157-807, BU file 105-165706 (Sub 50), entitled, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Seattle Division, Racial Matter - BPP"; Bureau airtel to Albany dated 4/24/69, captioned as above; Bureau airtel to Seattle, BU file 105-165706 (Sub 50), Seattle file 157-807, entitled, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SEATTLE DIVISION, RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY."

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau twelve (12) copies of a LHM entitled, "THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) DISTRIBUTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER'S RECORD, 'DIG'" concerning the record as described in above-referenced airtel from the Bureau to Seattle dated April 25, 1969. Also, enclosed is one copy to San Francisco for information.

ENCLOSURE

ST 104

REG-140

- ⑤ Bureau (Enc 13) (RM) 1-PACKAGE
(1 - 100-448006) (Enc 1 record & 1 LHM)
(3 - 105-165706 (Sub 50) (Enc 11 LHM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc 1) (RM)
(157-1578)
- 3 - Seattle (Enc 3)
(1 - 100-29488)
(1 - 157-807)
(1 - 170-120A)

SJR:kn

JUN 6 1969

4 MAY 28 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Approved: 79 JUN 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL

12

57

SE 100-29488

Seattle is presently attempting to obtain another copy and until then Seattle requests the Bureau to return the enclosed record upon completion of Bureau's usage as Seattle has utilization in the near future for this record.

returned by Bufile 6/24/59.
WJD

ROUTE IN THE VEHICLE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

6/6/69

REC-20
Director, FBI (100-448006) — *100*

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSDairtel 5/27/69.

Authority is not being granted to disseminate or otherwise distribute the cartoon enclosed with referenced communication. A review of the cartoon discloses that it is too general as to content and is difficult to understand. In addition it does not appear to criticize the specific groups mentioned in referenced communication. The idea of formulating a cartoon which will lampoon various black student groups now forming coalitions on the San Diego City College campus is good. San Diego should review the local situation and if appropriate forward ideas for a specific cartoon which pits the BPP against the Black Student Council, Black Student Unions, US and the Black Student Alliances in the San Diego area. It may be that for San Diego's purposes the cartoon may show the BPP as the dominant group with the other campus organizations completely subordinate. If this type of cartoon is feasible, San Diego should forward to the Bureau for production and return for dissemination.

Take no action without specific Bureau authority.

JAM:ra (4)

NOTE:

San Diego furnished us with a cartoon which appeared in a student newspaper. The cartoon was apparently a takeoff on attempted coalition between several black extremist groups on the San Diego City College campus. The cartoon is vague. It is not believed that we would obtain counterintelligence results if we authorized anonymous mailings to various groups. We are instructing San Diego to consider the local situation and forward ideas regarding a cartoon that might have impetus.

MAILED 6
JUN 6 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

55 JUN 12 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

59

FBI

Date: 5/27/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Enclosed for the Bureau is one Xerox copy of a cartoon which appeared in the 5/9/69 student newspaper "The Fortknighly", a publication of San Diego City College.

As the Bureau is aware, the Black Student Council (BSC) and MAYA have formed a coalition on the campus of the University of California at San Diego. Information has also been received that the US organization is attempting to infiltrate the BSCs, Black Student Unions (BSU), and Black Student Alliances (BSA) in the San Diego area. If this attempt is successful, it will then present a three-way coalition between the US organization, various black militant organizations, and Mexican-American groups.

The enclosed cartoon is an apparent takeoff on this attempted coalition. To add additional emphasis to this situation, it is pointed out to the Bureau that during the past week a conflict developed at San Fernando Valley High School in the Los Angeles area between the Mexican-Americans and the black students.

- REC-20 100-448006-1600
5 MAY 29 1969
- (2) - Bureau (Enc. - 1) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (ENC 1) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - San Diego

RLB:bef
(6)

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

60

For the additional information of the Bureau, the term "Chicano" refers to any Mexican-American.

In view of the above, Bureau permission is requested to reproduce the enclosed cartoon and thereafter anonymously distribute the cartoon on the campus of University of California at San Diego, San Diego State College, University of San Diego, and Mesa College, all of which have BSC organizations.

A copy of this cartoon is being furnished to the Los Angeles Division in the event that Division may wish to request permission to reproduce the cartoon and distribute it on appropriate campuses in the area in view of the above mentioned conflict at San Fernando Valley High School.

Editorials and Comments

Editorials

Black Studies

can studies solve? If the perfor-
mances over the past couple of
years will solve and accomplish
then seems to be a built-in mech-
anism for the program settle and be-
havioral organ.

the "preparation" two quote a MAYA
23, 1969) plan of a walkout - that
in first place. Also, we make no
discussion with Dr. Gorton that,
removal of the administration from

each time. The Fortnightly's child
is currently tagged as being a
"all or nothing" "bleeding heart"
they can care less about being

of vindictive name-calling is the
statistically criticizing a reform

ity included a set of pro and con
titled Racialism Rowland recognized
the formation of an ethnic studies
some-kind, selective way that
of dozens in existence. After
is have agreed that a different
ation.

program, in order to approve the
events, has instilled in its struc-

ation for a Black studies program
a Chicano studies program based
elucidate the difference with what
for a Black program, which is that
nothing began call a heritage and
only American history perpetuated
that recent American history, for
way.



"THE TOON" - BY "LITTLE"

Other Voices

time for many months without
sickness? The windows were
broken? No desks were over-

Other Voices

Following is a
sent from Dr. Go
president, to Ali
Sigma president
setting forth the
ion's position on
tion?

Full accreditation
Dugan City Colleg
ial in order to en
quality of educati
ents and maximum
for faculty to per
fence in teaching
ing. Faculty, stu
sified staff, and
res should appear
to be taken in seri
ly and successful
ment of the goals.

As regards the
visitation of the
of the accreditation
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submitted by the colle
the 42 recommendations
be itemized show
instance what steps
taken to accomplish
of the recommend
forth in the report
tent appropriate an
In addition, there
discuss achievement
being taken to ach
nishes expressed in
recommendations
page 18 having to
logic autonomy in
ties and separate

others all
"heroic" and effe
of our police quell
manned police forces

ENCLOSURE

62

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, New York (100-161140)

6/6/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNYteletype dated 5/29/69 captioned NY 6155-R.

Information in referenced teletype disclosed that officers of the BPP in the New York City area are planning and being ordered to quit their jobs and go on welfare, so that they can devote additional time to BPP affairs.

The New York Office should make a discreet survey to determine how many BPP officers are presently on welfare in New York City. As soon as this is determined, New York should make specific counterintelligence suggestions concerning the dissemination of this information to appropriate authorities and other interested persons. Handle promptly.

JAM:rel
(4)

NOTE:

We have recently received information indicating that BPP members are being forced to quit their jobs and go on welfare so that they are available for BPP activities on a 24-hour basis. We are calling for a survey on how many members are on welfare and specific counterintelligence suggestions.

REC-15

999

11 JUN 6 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 23
JUN 6 1969
COMM-FBI

51 JUN 12 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

63

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : *W66*
gim DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

DATE: 6/3/69

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 5/14/69.

Counterintelligence Operations in Effect Against the Black Panther Party (BPP)

No new counterintelligence operations have been placed in effect against the BPP since date of referenced letter.

Exhaustive interviews of BPP members are being continually conducted, causing a considerable degree of consternation on the part of the leaders as to whom should be trusted within the organization.

Counterintelligence Operations Under Consideration

In addition to following the arrest of BPP members, looking for possible violations of the Antiriot and gun control laws, their every-day activities are being closely scrutinized for violations of local laws, in which case this information can then be furnished to local law enforcement officers for action.

Accomplishments Obtained

Close liaison has been maintained with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) in regard to the recent bombing of the LAPD 77th Division on 5/26/69. On 5/26/69, the names of several possible suspects were furnished to the LAPD. One of the names listed as a possible suspect was [REDACTED]

Information

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-1618)

REC-10

LWS/gcw
(4)

JUN 5 1969

70 JUN 18 1969

RECEIVED
FBI
JUN 18 1969

64

LA 157-1751

had been received by the Los Angeles Division that [REDACTED] was a convicted felon and had, in the past, been in possession of various firearms as well as explosive devices. This information was furnished to the LAPD [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It was pointed out to the LAPD that under recent Federal legislation, it would be a Federal violation for [REDACTED] to possess any type of firearm or explosive device, even though under local law [REDACTED] as a convicted felon, could own a rifle or a shotgun.

As a result of this information, the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Los Angeles Division, with the approval of the Department, thereafter filed charges against [REDACTED] for violation of Title 7, U. S. Code, Section 1202.

The name of [REDACTED] Los Angeles BPP, was also furnished to the LAPD as a possible bomb suspect. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] As a result of the attempt to locate [REDACTED], however, the Los Angeles BPP has become extremely upset over both the arrest of [REDACTED] and the attempted arrest of [REDACTED] Los Angeles is remaining alert to take advantage of this situation in future counterintelligence proposals.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 6/3/69

*with this
negative*

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 2/26/69, and
Bureau letter to Baltimore and other offices, 4/25/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

Violations of the Anti-Riot and gun control laws by
black nationalists are continuing to be followed by the Los
Angeles Office to determine if these individuals might be
prosecuted under Federal and State laws.

Surveys of toll calls of various black nationalist
leaders are continuing under present Bureau policy with the
results of these reviews being considered for action under the
counterintelligence program.

The Los Angeles Office is continually alert for any
situation which might arise within the black nationalist
movement conducive to an effective counterintelligence operation
arising from the above.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

The Bureau will refer to Los Angeles letter
dated 3/17/69 regarding counterintelligence measures directed
against the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Interviews with members of black nationalist groups
are being conducted with regularity and this has caused some
concern and disruption among members of the black nationalist
organizations.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Los Angeles

LWS/gow
(3)

1-8069

MI-3:

100-448006-997

25 JUN 5 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 JUN 11 1969

66

LA 157-1751

3. Tangible Results

Reference is made to Los Angeles letter to Bureau dated 3/17/69 with regard to the BPP.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

With regard to San Diego letter dated 5/27/69 submitting a cartoon which appeared in the 5/9/69 student newspaper "The Fortnightly", a San Diego City College publication, the Los Angeles Office is giving consideration as to what benefits might be obtained in the counterintelligence field by distribution of this cartoon in the Los Angeles area.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-802) - P -

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Springfield letters to Bureau dated 2/28/69
and 5/22/69.

Referenced 5/22/69 letter enclosed several photos
of Chicago Black Panthers arrested in this division during
February, 1969.

Since submission of last quarterly letter, 2/28/69,
this division has been involved in two counterintelligence
programs initiated by the St. Louis Division, the anonymous
letter to [REDACTED] and the "underground" newspaper distributed at the
Southern Illinois University campus at Edwardsville, Illinois.

[REDACTED]

Obtained as a result of the above were several items
of counterintelligence value, including membership rolls and
minutes of meetings of The Black Egyptians, an East St. Louis,
Illinois-based militant negro organization. These items are
being analyzed and results of this analysis will be forwarded to
the Bureau, including the description and photographs of some
items which appear to be of a highly flammable or explosive
nature.

This division remains alert to other counterintelligence
operations, including the possibilities which exist in
connection with the recent coalition of the three East St. Louis,
Illinois negro militant organizations into the Black Organizations
United.

(2-Bureau (100-448006)
2-Springfield (157-802)
WR/mab
(4)

REC 11
22 JUN 5 1969

5 JUN 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

996
JUN 1969
68

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 R

SAC, Denver (157-199)

6/18/69

REC-134

Director, FBI (100-448006). 995

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ST 102

ReDNlet 6/2/69.

Enclosed for Denver are five copies of the cartoon requested in relet. Authority is granted for the mailing of this caricature to the Denver BPP headquarters and several BPP leaders in Denver, Colorado, and for it to be postmarked from Boulder, Colorado. You should not add any names to these cartoons and they should be mailed as is. Strict security should be maintained so that the Bureau is not disclosed as the source. The envelopes used should be unmarked and commercially purchased. Advise the Bureau of the results of this mailing.

Enclosures - 5

JAM:lmg/ra (4)

NOTE:

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Sympathizers of the black extremist organization US have been arguing with members of the BPP in Denver for some time. The BPP and members of US have been competing for leadership in the racial field for some time and the BPP has accused US of killing two BPP members some time ago. We have previously distributed a cartoon of [REDACTED] sitting on a chair crossing off various BPP members from a list with excellent disruptive results. Denver has recommended the mailing of several of these cartoons in the Denver area and for them to be postmarked in Boulder, Colorado, the homes of two US sympathizers. This cartoon should continue the breach between the BPP and US both nationally and on a local basis. We are granting authority for the mailing on an anonymous basis. Denver has suggested that several local names be inserted in the cartoon. We are turning this down as it could look like a threat if specific local names were used.

MAILED 6
JUN 18 1969
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Cooper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

98 JUN 19 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

189

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006, Sub 13) DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, DENVER (157-199)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Re Denver letter to the Bureau, 5/16/69.

[REDACTED] advised he determined that [REDACTED] with marihuana. This information was furnished to the Denver PD Intelligence Bureau on 5/21/69.

Approximately two days later [REDACTED] was arrested by the Denver PD for possession of narcotics and [REDACTED] was arrested on [REDACTED] for possession of narcotics.

The above is a counterintelligence technique used by the Denver Office during the past two weeks.

[REDACTED]

Denver requests the Bureau to forward five copies of the caricature of [REDACTED] crossing the names of the BPP members off a list. This is the same caricature previously

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Denver

FHV/sip
(8)

REC 109

100-448006-995

JUN 4 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

DN 157-199

used by San Francisco or San Diego in a counterintelligence operation.

Denver requests authority to mail this caricature to the BPP in Denver or some BPP leaders in Denver, Colorado and for it to be postmarked Boulder, Colorado. The name [REDACTED] will be pencilled in with the name of [REDACTED]

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

RE: Omaha letter to Bureau 5/19/69;

The Black Panther Party in Omaha and its affiliate at Technical High School the Black Association for Nationalism Through Unity (BANTU), have since April, 1969, concentrated their efforts against the Omaha school administration. As pointed out in referenced letter, the latter organization recently furnished a list of 23 demands to the Technical High School administration and also sponsored a boycott of this school by its students on 5/19/69, which boycott resulted in a high percentage of absenteeism on the part of the Negro student body at that school.

Now that school is out for the summer, the area of concentration of these organizations is at present unknown and remains to be seen.

Omaha is continuing to remain alert to various activities of the Black Panther Party and BANTU that might lend themselves to counterintelligence activity and it's anticipated that such situations will present themselves in the near future.

No counterintelligence accomplishments have been obtained under captioned program since submission of the last bi-weekly letter.

This matter will continue to receive close attention and suggestions for counterintelligence activity against the Black Panther Party, BANTU and the leadership of these organizations at a future date will be submitted by separate letter.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Omaha
GDW:PJC
(4)

REC 109

100-114700-974
17 JUN 4 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



59 JUN 7 1969 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

72

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Baltimore letters to Bureau, 5/26, 5/12, 4/28, 4/14 and 4/16/69; Bureau letter to Baltimore, 4/25/69; San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 5/14/69; and Bureau letter to San Francisco, 5/28/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

At the present time the Baltimore Division is obtaining the regulations from the City Health Department regarding the handling of food, etc. in connection with the "Breakfast for Children Program" now being served by the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Baltimore, Maryland.

Specific CIP proposals regarding the breakfast program will be submitted when necessary information obtained.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

Bureau authority was received in letter dated 4/22/69 regarding BPP sources driving a wedge between SDS and the BPP are being implemented and the Bureau will be advised of any tangible results.


1 - Baltimore
RJS:jtk
(3)

25 JUN 5 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 JUN 2 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan


BA 157-2520



4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

The major developments of counterintelligence interest in the Baltimore Division is to isolate the BPP from the various anti-Vietnam War and peacenik-type groups in the division.

Interest is also being directed at alienating the BPP from the Soul School as investigation within the division indicates that these two groups are not getting along.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

DATE: 6-3-69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re SL let to Bureau, 2-26-69.

The following information is submitted regarding counterintelligence activity (Black Nationalist) for the previous 90 days in accordance with Bureau instructions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

By letter dated 5-26-69, this Division recommended that STAUGHTON LYNN's letter to the Guardian, which criticized the Black Panther Party, be given the widest possible dissemination among New Left officers and rank and file.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

There are no counterintelligence operations currently being effectuated.

3. Tangible Results

Since November, 1968, three separate counterintelligence operations by this division succeeded in driving a wedge between [redacted] of the Black Liberators [redacted] eventually seized control of the Black Liberators and this division predicted in letter dated 1-24-69, under the above caption, the Black Liberators will collapse if [redacted] takes over. He did and they did.

In a separate operation, this Division effected an anonymous letter to [redacted] accusing him of infidelity, a copy of which letter ultimately reached [redacted] Since the

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis (1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)

JAF:amb
(5)

1 JUN 5 1969

100-448006-992
BACIN [signature]
7/5

SL 157-5818

receipt of the letter [redacted] left East St. Louis, Ill., went directly to [redacted] and has remained there for about two months. It is presumed he is spending some of his talent and energy "patching up" the marital difficulties this letter caused.

In April, 1969, this Division created and distributed about 200 copies of Blackboard, a purported "underground" newspaper of Southern Illinois University black students. It created an apparent stir in the black community and it put [redacted] in a very poor light in the eyes of the Negro community. [redacted] was so angry about it he "blew his cool" at a meeting of ACTION (local Negro activist group) and he succeeded in getting an invitation from local Black militants "to leave town." Furthermore, the stature of [redacted] has been greatly decreased in the Negro community.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

ACTION, a local Negro activist group, together with the local chapter of Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) until recently co-published a newsletter called ACTION ATTACK NEWS which was renamed The Struggle.

Recently ACTION and YSA discontinued their cooperation in this project over some ideological dispute and ACTION now publishes it themselves, having changed its name back to ACTION ATTACK NEWS.

This matter is being explored for potential counterintelligence activity and should a satisfactory plan be developed, Bureau authority will be requested to initiate it.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2544) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

In connection with above-captioned program, the following is set forth:

1. Operation Under Consideration

None.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

None.

3. Tangible Results

None.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None.

1-8067
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Phoenix
HFA:gjk
(3)

REC-31

JUN 5 1969

51 JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

177

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 6/3/69

Re: NH letter 5/12/69.
NH airtel to Bureau, 6/2/69.

1. Operations under consideration. Reairtel to Bureau has requested authority to disseminate copies of the May 25, 1969 issue of the "Black Panther" to [REDACTED]

On pages two and three are items drafted by [REDACTED] for the New Haven Chapter of the BPP. [REDACTED] currently under arraignment for the [REDACTED]. All other programs under consideration are being held in abeyance pending a "settling of the dust" following the arrest of the leadership of the New Haven BPP Chapter.

2. Operations Being Effected. No operations are being conducted at the present time. Recommendations will be forwarded to the Bureau at such time that the BPP has reorganized in New Haven.

3. Tangible Results. Nothing further to add since last letter.

4. Developments of CI Interest. The Bureau is well aware of the disruption that has occurred with the arrest of the leadership of the New Haven Chapter in connection with the murder of ALEX RACKLEY. New Haven has followed closely all planned activities of the BPP, since the arrest of these individuals. A demonstration was held on the steps of the Superior Court Building on May 29, 1969, and a picnic and rally was held at Beaver Pond Park, New Haven on May 30, 1969. Both of these events appeared to be loosely organized and, in fact, dominated by SDS. A demonstration planned for

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New Haven
LWH/gjr
(3)

REC-37

22 JUN 5 1969



59 JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED

78

NH 157-785

June 2, 1969, at City Hall, New Haven by the BPP prior to the arrests was not held. It is noted that a small rainfall was occurring at the time of the planned commencement of the event, but stopped shortly thereafter. The event not being held could logically be attributed to lack of leadership.

This is perhaps confirmed by [REDACTED] who reported on May 28, 1969, that [REDACTED] contacted BPP Headquarters at Berkeley, California and advised the Officer of the Day that there were only five Panthers left because of all of the arrests in New Haven and the local chapter had not been able to get any help out of New York to raise funds for the defense of those arrested. Nobody knew what to do with the money on hand and they had no leadership.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : S.C. SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Sacramento letter to the Bureau, 4/11/69.

There have been no noticeable changes in the overall Black Nationalist Movement since referenced letter with the exception of the formation of a Nation of Islam Mosque at 3308 Sacramento Boulevard, Sacramento, California.

1) Operations Under Consideration

NONE

2) Operations Being Effectuated

See following Sacramento airtels to the Bureau dated May 1, and May 16, 1969.

3) Tangible Results

See Sacramento airtel to the Bureau dated May 1, 1969.

4) Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

NONE

1-806 D
2 - Bureau (M-D)
2 - Sacramento
GMS/kah
(4)

REC-31
JUN 5 1969

54 JUN 19 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5492) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

ReBuairtel instructs a 90-day progress letter be submitted using the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

Birmingham does not have at present any counter-intelligence operation under consideration.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

Birmingham does not have at present any counter-intelligence operation in process of execution.

3. Tangible Results

None

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

According to [REDACTED] attendance at the meetings held on Wednesday and Friday evenings has greatly decreased in the past several months. Also, several members have been disciplined for infraction of rules by [REDACTED]. If this situation continues, it may afford an opportunity for a counterintelligence operation directed against the Minister.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Birmingham
RSM:mfl
(3)

REC-32

JUN 5 1969

JUN 10 1969

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

This is to advise of successful counterintelligence results from an anonymous letter.

[REDACTED] who is sympathetic with the aims of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] was involved in intimidating white professors and students during a Black Spring Weekend held 4/10-13/69 at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. As a result of his activities other Negro students formed a Defense Committee to oppose [REDACTED]. We approved sending an anonymous letter, ostensibly from this Defense Committee, to [REDACTED] designed to discourage him from returning to the Tougaloo campus.

A confidential source advised that [REDACTED] commented recently he received a letter from a group at Tougaloo College which directed him to stay away from the campus. [REDACTED] indicated he was upset with this letter and the fact that he is no longer welcome at Tougaloo College. [REDACTED] indicated he was going [REDACTED]. The Jackson Division confirmed that [REDACTED].

Thus, a black extremist has been cut off from his usual contacts and area of operation by a counterintelligence technique.

ACTION:

None. For information.

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 2 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

TJD:fsh
(6)

98 JUN 10 1969

REC 17

67 JUN 5 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (NOI)

Re Norfolk letter to the Director, Copy Chicago,
5/19/69.

It is suggested Norfolk may desire to send
their proposed anonymous letter to [REDACTED]

As Norfolk is aware [REDACTED] is the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in the Nation of Islam.

1-806 D
2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Norfolk (157-464) (RM)
1 - Chicago

JRS/sjf
(5)

REC-51

100-448006-91
14 JUN 4 1969

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE



JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Shepherd

Re Albany letter to Bureau 3/17/69, and Bureau airtel, 3/4/68.

The following information sets forth the summary of the Counterintelligence Program for the Albany Division as requested in referenced Bureau airtel:

1. Operations Under Consideration

The Albany Division is presently in the process of contacting [REDACTED] regarding the possibility of printing a discrediting article about the United Black Brothers of Syracuse. This operation has been approved by the Bureau and efforts continue between this office and [REDACTED] in order to protect the Bureau interest but still obtain desirable results in the counterintelligence field.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

[REDACTED] has been contacted by the Albany Office regarding the funding of the United Black Brothers of Syracuse by the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] has advised that he is exerting

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Albany
TCK/kdf
(4)

REC-32

1-8069

JUN 4 1969



JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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AL 157-231

his influence on this organization to make sure that no additional funds will be allocated for the United Black Brothers.

3. Tangle Results

It is felt that if the operation presently being effected continues, a large portion of the revenue being supplied to the UBB, will be completely cut off, thereby, limiting the activity of this organization.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Contacts with the above mentioned [REDACTED] revealed a definite interest on the part of this individual regarding the UBB and the possibility exists that through his efforts in the [REDACTED], this same interest will be generated throughout the City of Syracuse.

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/3/69

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140)

SUBJECT :

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK UNITY)

ReBulet, 5/7/69.

The following is a draft of a proposed anonymous letter to be sent to the United Federation of Teachers Union in NY revealing certain black militant activities in the NY schools:

Dear Sir:

"The following information has come to my attention and may be of some interest to the United Federation of Teachers.

On January 11, 1969, a Political Education class was held in Room L-40 of the Brooklyn Center of Long Island University (LIU) at Brooklyn, NY. The meeting which was sponsored by the Student Organization for Black Unity, a student organization at LIU, commenced at about 12:20 and terminated at 2:30.

[REDACTED] a former member of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who was convicted by the NY State Courts of an attempt to blow up the Statue of Liberty in 1965, along with other militants was the teacher at such session.

[REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party. The class focused on revolution as a method of securing Black Nationalism and Internationalism.

[REDACTED] was arrested by the NYCPD along with 11 other BPP members on charges of conspiracy to commit murder and arson. Collier had three pipe bombs in his possession when arrested.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (43)

REC-32

TEB:tf
(3)

JUN 4 1969



817

SAC, New York (100-161140)

6/13/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) 984

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK UNITY)

Reurlet 6/3/69.

New York is authorized to send the anonymous letter set out in relet. Use commercially purchased stationery and take other precautions to insure that this letter cannot be traced to this Bureau.

New York is also authorized to furnish information in the anonymous letter pertaining to Black Panther Party activity at Long Island University. Insure the source understands the Bureau must not be revealed as the source of this information. Public source type data regarding William Hunt, Brooklyn organizer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, may also be furnished the source.

TJD:nms
(5)

NOTE:

The anonymous letter concerns Black Panther Party activity and public source type data regarding the Black Panther Party. It will be sent the United Federation of Teachers, a group interested in black nationalist activity at schools in New York City. Since the letter is anonymous there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

The Black Panther Party has been involved with the Student Organization for Black Unity, a group at Long Island University.

MAILED 20
JUN 13 1969
COMM-FBI

59 JUN 17 1969

TYPE UNIT

NY 100-161140

Furthermore [REDACTED] of the Republic of New Africa, a militant and black nationalist group, was employed by the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was so employed until he was arrested in NY in early May and charged with the murder of a Detroit, Michigan policeman, March 30, 1969. The murder occurred at a meeting of the RNA, in Detroit where [REDACTED] was serving in the [REDACTED] such organization.

[REDACTED]

These are two examples of what is happening to the educational system in NY."

The use of an anonymous letter is recommended in this instance since disclosure of its source could possibly involve the Bureau in the political or educational problems of NYC, and/or subject the Bureau to strong criticism for becoming involved in such problems.

[REDACTED]

Additionally the activities of [REDACTED] who has been involved in LIU campus activities. [REDACTED] file [REDACTED] his alleged role as Brooklyn organizer for SNCC.

[REDACTED] not previously participated in any counterintelligence activity. It is felt, however, that in view of source's past cooperation and rapport established with him that he will treat any information provided to him with the utmost discretion. Source has exhibited a complete understanding of the confidential nature of the relationship to date and it is anticipated that he will continue to do so in the future.

FBI

Date: 6/3/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: BUREAU (6-2-111663)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1781) (P)

RM
(OO:BS)

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies, and two (2) copies for Boston and San Francisco, of a LHM dated and captioned as above. Copies are furnished to SF for information only, to apprise that office of developments regarding the status of subject, who has been the East [redacted] of the Black Panther Party.

The information in LHM is classified "Confidential" to protect the identity of [redacted]

The LHM is being disseminated locally to the AUSA, Secret Service, and local Military Intelligence Agencies.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- 2-Bureau (Encs. 8)
- 2-Boston (100-37622) (RM) (Encs. 2)
- 2-San Francisco (Encs. 2) (ALTM) (INFO) (157-1121) (157-1204)
- 1-WFO

RGH:bjm
(7)

NOT RECORDED
12 JUN 12 1969

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____
JUN 4 1969
FBI - WFO

JUN 12 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

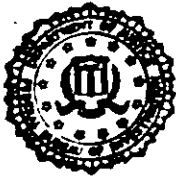
Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN

1cc 814 D

1cc 806 d

89



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

June 3, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

[REDACTED]

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) held a meeting in Boston about the [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED] arrived at the meeting after it was in progress. [REDACTED] was chastised for neglecting Black Panther Party business while driving [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] also noted that [REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party Office in Boston, was [REDACTED] handling of the affairs of that office. This ostensibly occurred at the same meeting.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached hereto in the appendix.

SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

[REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

110-447006-

90

APPENDIXBLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Re Newark letter to Bureau dated 5/19/69.

During the past two weeks, no counterintelligence measures were aimed against the BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP). No accomplishments were obtained during previous two-week period under captioned program.

REC-32

973
JUN 4 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
AGO:mas
(3)

2217
1 JUN 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

92

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, dated 5/19/69.

At an earlier date in [REDACTED], an affiliate of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis named [REDACTED] was interviewed at Marion County Jail, after being arrested on a narcotics charge, and given thirty days in jail. [REDACTED] at that time was willing to talk with agents but very evasive, cocky, and unwilling to say anything of value. On 5/27/69, [REDACTED] was observed in the City - County Building, outside one of the municipal court rooms. He was approached by agents while standing apart from other BPP members who were present in the hall. [REDACTED] was greeted and approached with comments indicating that he had been cooperative in the past with agents. [REDACTED] did not act unfriendly and the other BPP members nearby were watching with great interest. Inasmuch as the BPP leaders here do not want members to talk to agents and cooperate in any way, and since they have been suspicious of all members, it is felt that this act may have had merit as a counterintelligence measure. It was noted immediately after this that the other members did not want to have much to do with [REDACTED] and they immediately indicated distrust toward him.

In the event any other such situations present themselves, and appear to have any counterintelligence merit, they will be utilized for the appropriate purpose. Attempts to interview any members who might talk and even those who have been unwilling to talk will be continued.

REC-15

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis

5 JUN 4 1969

LIG/njt
(3)

RECEIVED 27 JUN 1969 DIA

RACIAL INT. SEC.

JUN 13 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/29/69

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49654) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Newark letter to Bureau 2/27/69.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Newark has no operations under consideration at this time.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

No specific operations being effected since Newark letter dated 2/27/69.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

By letter dated 11/27/68 under the dual caption of COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM and [REDACTED] Newark requested that although the Bureau felt a review of subject's income tax records was not warranted, at least it should be determined through appropriate liaison whether subject filed income tax returns for the years 1966-1967.

The Bureau concurred and by letter dated 5/12/69 under the [REDACTED] case caption forwarded data from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) reflecting [REDACTED] was interviewed by IRS and had in fact failed to file an income tax return.

It is believed by Newark that the possibility exists that other black militants in the United States may be in violation of the Internal Revenue laws.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The BPP in New Jersey, which basically consists of the Jersey City and Newark, N.J., Chapters, has been generally

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark

AGO:aas
(3)

JUN 4 1969



59 JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL DISTRICT

NK 100-49654

ineffective during the recent past due in Jersey City to arrests among the leadership and in Newark due to factionalism. The Newark Chapter is down to 10-15 active members, and the feud with the national leadership continues.

The outcome of this struggle cannot be determined at this time, and Newark continues alert to counterintelligence opportunities.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReTPlot, 4/3/69 and 5/14/69.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

ReTPlot, 4/3/69, indicated that [REDACTED] NOI, Tampa, Fla., had been arrested [REDACTED] by the Pensacola, Fla., PD for committing a lewd act. The records of the [REDACTED] reflect that [REDACTED] while serving in the U. S. Navy, was arrested [REDACTED] for committing a lewd and lascivious act and visiting a disorderly house. The warrant contains the notation in bed with colored female. Disposition listed as charges quashed [REDACTED]. In view of the above, it is not felt that the arrest of [REDACTED] could be utilized in any form of counterintelligence against the NOI in Tampa, Fla.

Tampa will remain alert for potential counterintelligence material.

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

By relet, 5/14/69, the television program, "Wild Grapes," was submitted to the Bureau.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

No tangible results since submission of relet, 4/3/69.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

There have been no additional developments of counterintelligence interest within Tampa Division.

② - Bureau (RM)

2 - Tampa

JEH:av

(4)

REC-10

14 JUN 4 1969

1-206 ✓
JUN 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



96

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

RE: Omaha airtel to Bureau 4/21/69;
Bureau letter to Baltimore 4/25/69;

Referenced Omaha airtel is the last quarterly airtel submitted by Omaha under captioned program.

Bi-weekly letters under captioned program were submitted since 3/1/69, on the following dates: 3/10 & 24/69; 4/7 & 21/69; and 5/5 & 19/69.

- (1) Operations under consideration
- (2) Operations being effected
- (3) Tangible results
- (4) Developments of counterintelligence interests

0
0
0
0

M

REC 28

100-448006-971

17 JUN 4 1969

T. J. DUNN
RACIAL INT. SECT.

1-806P

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Omaha
GDW:PJC
(4)

55 JUN 11 1969 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

97

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *clh* SAC, CLEVELAND (157-1189) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 6/2/69

*The Bureau
10-5-69*

Re Cleveland letter to the Bureau, 2/20/69.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[redacted] has advised that [redacted] to functionary in the Republic of New Africa (RNA) has pocketed about \$500 in funds earmarked for the "July 23 Defense Committee". This committee is a scheme operated by [redacted] ostensibly to gain funds for lawyers fees and miscellaneous expenses in connection with petitioning for a new trial for [redacted]. It appears that in the near future [redacted] will be asked for an accounting of funds garnered from his appeals and should it be a minimal amount the Bureau will be requested to approve a letter addressed to various extremists and their sympathizers pointing out the discrepancy in funds reported and those received should such a discrepancy exist after [redacted] statement concerning funds received.

111

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Informants and knowledgeable sources have advised there is no validity to the rumor that [redacted] mentioned above in item 1 is running around with a white woman.

There are no counterintelligence operations now being affected at this time.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Since the date of referenced letter Cleveland has not achieved any tangible results under this program.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Cleveland
TAC:cmv
(5)

JUN 13 1969

REC-15 100-448006-111

17 JUN 3 1969

*Mo. for
RACIAL INT. SECT.
98*



CV 157-1185

Photographs taken by [REDACTED] during recent "sit in" at Cuyahoga County Prosecutor's Office where an Assistant County Prosecutor was assaulted are being reviewed with an eye to submitting any that fall under the criteria as visual aids per Bureau airtel to all offices dated April 24, 1969, captioned, "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS)".

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Informant information indicating that [REDACTED] has pocketed funds earmarked for the legal expenses of [REDACTED] is a development of counterintelligence interest.

It was mentioned in referenced letter that attempts would be made to tape speeches by [REDACTED] Black Extremist leader of the Afro Set, a local militant black nationalist group. It was felt the inconsistency of docile statements publicly made by [REDACTED] who professes to be a radical militant and claims to make radical speeches could be exploited. A tape of [REDACTED] speech before the Cleveland City Club Forum was obtained but the content did not appear to be geared for counterintelligence measures.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReWFOlet, 3/3/69.

In accordance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 3/4/68, the following data is submitted:

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

1. As the Bureau is aware, there have been a number of instances in the recent past in which black extremists have lectured to students at Cardozo and Eastern High Schools under the guise of black studies programs. During February, 1969, [REDACTED] Washington, D.C. (WDC), spoke at Eastern High School, WDC. [REDACTED] told the students that the capitalistic system is not for black people and alleged that the U.S. Government is in the process of building concentration camps in the U.S.; that there are eight or nine such camps in existence and the Government intends to launch a program of genocide against blacks in the U.S. The talk was designed to stir up the students and it was well received. It appears that the only effective way to counteract this situation would be through a series of in-depth articles by friendly local newsmen to prevent high school students from being exposed to black extremist preachings in an atmosphere that is one-sided and unrebuted by truth.

2. In connection with the above, WFO also reported that [REDACTED] lectured at the University of Oregon on 2/21/69, on techniques of making firebombs and hand grenades.

(2) - Bureau

1 - WFO

RNV:tdl

(3)

100-448006-71
5 JUN 3 1969

WFO 157-1292

3. As the Bureau is aware, dissident students at Howard University, numbering no more than about 250, were successful in taking over six buildings of the university and closing down the facilities from 5/7-9/69; thereby disrupting the education of approximately 9,000 students who did not participate in the take-over and apparently were not sympathetic to its aims. It was also noted that the dissident students enlisted the support of the Black United Front (BUF) and at least one BUF spokesman, Rev. DOUGLAS MOORE-Chairman, indicated that the BUF was behind the students and supported them. WFO proposed a letter to the editor of a WDC newspaper by "Concerned Howard University Students" to discredit the BUF as a self-styled voice of the black community of WDC.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

WFO is not currently effecting any operation under the counterintelligence program.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

1. During the course of an investigation captioned [REDACTED] determined that [REDACTED] had purchased a new automobile in September, 1967. It was further determined that [REDACTED] was three months behind in her payments and the loan company was looking for the car to repossess it. With Bureau permission, WFO obtained information concerning the whereabouts of the car and provided same to a confidential contact at the loan company. The car was then repossessed, which has caused [REDACTED] a great deal of discomfort and inconvenience.

2. [REDACTED] of WFO advised that [REDACTED] Black Panther Party in WDC, agreed to appear on an interview-type program on television station WFAN, Channel 14 on 3/6/69. The source requested background material pertaining to the Black Panther Party which could be used to formulate appropriate questions for RIPPY and others who might appear with him. With Bureau permission, public source

material relating to the Black Panthers was provided. Use of this material permitted the interviewer to ask a number of questions which embarrassed [redacted] and tended to discredit him in the eyes of the viewers.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

4. The Bureau was previously advised that the New School for Afro-American Thought was involved in an internal power struggle and a moderate faction intent on stressing the educational function of the school had taken control. Recently the New School for Afro-American Thought has experienced financial difficulties and the landlord has begun proceeding to evict NSAT for non-payment of rent. It is possible that this may cause the NSAT to disband completely thereby depriving extremist elements in WDC of a meeting place.

RA
ST
SAC, New Orleans (105-3138)

5/28/69

EX-116 REC-20

Director, FBI (100-448006) — 976

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

Reurairtel 5/20/69.

New Orleans is authorized to send the anonymous
letter set out in reairtel, [REDACTED]

New Orleans should prepare the letter on commercially
purchased stationery and take all necessary precautions to
insure that it could not be traced to the Bureau. In order
to pinpoint [REDACTED] as the source of the letter, New Orleans
might desire to include some information which would throw
suspicion on him. If [REDACTED] owns or has access to a type-
writer, consider using a similar machine to prepare the letter,
or the letter might be prepared in obviously highly disguised
hand printing or using words and letters clipped from a news-
paper. This would be appropriate if [REDACTED] would know [REDACTED]
would recognize his handwriting.

1 - Detroit

TJD:mms

(6)

NOTE:

The anonymous letter notes that [REDACTED] who
is the [REDACTED] of the
black extremist Republic of New Africa (RNA), is having an
affair with [REDACTED]
Southern Region of the RNA. This affair is common knowledge
in the New Orleans RNA group. [REDACTED] has been criticized
for this activity since he is a [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] was
instructed to end the affair or to tell [REDACTED] about the
affair in order to prevent disunity in the RNA. [REDACTED] has
not done this.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

EX-116

98 JUN 6 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Letter to SAC, New Orleans
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUP'S
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
-(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

[REDACTED] was recently criticized by [REDACTED] as a result of information furnished [REDACTED] thus, [REDACTED] would be a logical suspect as the writer of this anonymous letter. New Orleans suggested [REDACTED] handwriting be duplicated to throw suspicion on him, but it is not believed this operation justifies such a technique. Since the letter is anonymous, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Letter to be sent [REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 5/20/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS

C
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(Bufile 100-448006)
(New Orleans file 105-3138) (P)

10
REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)
RM - BN
(Bufile 157-9079)
(New Orleans file 157-10915) (P)
(OO: DETROIT)

Re New Orleans letter to Detroit 4/15/69, captioned **[REDACTED]** K

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of referenced letter and two examples of the handwriting of **[REDACTED]**

Detroit sources have advised that **[REDACTED]**

[REDACTED] and also
the **[REDACTED]** of the RNA.
In addition, these sources have stated that **[REDACTED]** is paying

Approved: **[Signature]**
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 6/2 M Per 1-806
17 MAY 22 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT. 105

105-3138
157-10915
H:sab

become common knowledge in the RNA group in New Orleans and [redacted] has been criticized for it because he is a [redacted] and also instructed by [redacted] to sever his relationship with [redacted] or notify [redacted] of this relationship so that no disunity would be caused by the affair. To date, [redacted] has failed to do as he was instructed.

New Orleans feels that this would be an ideal time for a counterintelligence move which could possibly create dissension between the Southern Region which is headquartered in New Orleans and the national office in Detroit. New Orleans proposes that the Bureau prepare a letter, which would state as follows:

IN THE HANDWRITING OF [redacted]

NO 105-3138
NO 157-10915
RJH:sab

"If you want to know where [REDACTED]
They're sleeping together at [REDACTED] in New Orleans.
If you don't believe me, find out why she's moving to
New Orleans.

A Brother"

New Orleans requests also that an envelope be prepared
by the Lab which would be directed to:

[REDACTED]
It is requested that this letter be prepared on a
plain type stationery and that its accompanying envelope, upon
completion, be returned to New Orleans so that it might be
mailed from that city.

New Orleans believes that now is an excellent opportunity
to make a counterintelligence move such as that described above.
Due to the fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who is the strong guiding hand in New Orleans,
is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] it is felt that now would be the ideal time
to cause dissension in the New Orleans RNA. [REDACTED] and
[REDACTED] are not considered to be close friends and
[REDACTED] would be the likely individuals to send such a note
in reprisal for [REDACTED] of his association
with the Black Economic Development Conference. In addition,
to utilization of this letter, New Orleans plans to conduct an
interview of [REDACTED] shortly thereafter as he has been implicated
in the shooting of a Detroit police officer at the New Bethel
Church, Detroit, Michigan, on 3/29/69.

4/15/52

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: SAC, MEMPHIS
FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (157-nm) (P)
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RM - RM

[REDACTED] advised that subject, who is the girlfriend of [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] in Detroit, is currently living in New Orleans. [REDACTED] further advised that subject is the girlfriend of New Orleans [REDACTED] number [REDACTED], and that [REDACTED] immediately following [REDACTED] arrival she [REDACTED] resided in [REDACTED]

In view of [REDACTED] it is felt that at a later date, when more New Orleans [REDACTED] are aware of her presence, her involvement with [REDACTED] may be utilized as a counterintelligence move to develop a split between the Detroit and New Orleans [REDACTED] groups.

- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- ① - New Orleans (2 - 157-nm)
- (b - 105-3136) (CONFIDENTIAL - RM)
- 100-100000
- (5) [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

108

we are unfair
And unfair
We are black magicians
Black arts we make
in Black Lakes of the heart

The fair are fair
And deathly white.

The day will not save them
had we own the night

... or out of the armed services; things that aren't worth
"fighting by day..."

O. "Vietnamese" people are good, in the daytime - you know,
just, neat, quiet, advising the Americans and going along
with everything the soldiers say. But at night, when I'd
saw people you saw earlier in now that "Long" Filoyd said:
"And the G's found out the hard way, brother, that one
guerrilla soldier is the of at least thirty - yes regular
soldiers - can you dig it!" Floyd goes on to tell
how he lived in a number of huts, from time to time, with
the Vietnamese. He had gotten so accustomed to being
with them, that he began going "over the hill" so much,
that he had the nickname, "AOL Sim", tagged to him.
"I found, inside them huts - yeah, can you dig it!"

ROUTED

FILED

EX-116 New York

6/3/69

REC-20

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - Mr. R. H. Horner
1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton
1 - Mr. J. A. Harrison

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReSLet 5/26/69 captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, New Left Movement."

A review of referenced letter has been made and the suggestion propounded by St. Louis has definite merit. New York should prepare the anonymous mailing as suggested in referenced letter and furnish Bureau, as well as pertinent offices, copies of same. Chicago, New York and St. Louis should furnish addresses of New Left organizations and members to which these anonymous mailings can be made. Take no action without specific Bureau authority.

- 1 - St. Louis (157-5818)
- 2 - Chicago

JAN:lis
(9)

NOTE:

The Black Panther Party and the New Left organization known as the Students for a Democratic Society have been attempting to cooperate with each other. Constant bickering between the two and other New Left groups makes this difficult. We are attempting to further this bickering. St. Louis has recommended the mailing of anonymous communications to various New Left organizations. These mailings are in fact reprints of articles appearing in a New Left publication. We are instructing New York to submit a proposed anonymous letter and to furnish names and addresses of possible mailers.

69 JUN 10 1969
COMM-FBI

55 JUN 10 1969

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448008)

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

DATE: 5/20/69

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a letter to the editor by STAUGHTON LYND, a New Left spokesman from Chicago, Ill., which letter appeared in the 5/17/69 issue of "Guardian", an independent radical news weekly published in New York, N. Y. The St. Louis Division feels that the current "battle" which is being waged between JULIUS LESTER, black correspondent and former SNCC functionary, and KATHLEEN CLEAVER of the Black Panther Party, which is being waged on the pages of the "Guardian", is a very good subject for potential counterintelligence.

The enclosed letter by STAUGHTON LYND, which tends to put the Black Panther Party in a very poor light, especially from the point of view of the New Left, mentions the confrontation between SNCC and the Black Panther Party when armed Black Panthers charged into the office of JAMES FORMAN.

It is felt that the widest possible dissemination of this letter should be effected among all New Left officers and rank and file. It is felt that this dissemination would have a two-fold effect. First, inasmuch as LYND is one of the primary spokesmen and leaders of the entire New Left Movement, it is felt that his influence would cause the New Left rank and file to greatly decrease their support of the Black Panthers and would regard the Black Panthers with extreme suspicion. Secondly, it is felt that this dissemination will add fuel to the fire which currently exists in this Black Panther SDS rift, and it is conceivable that it would seriously wreck any degree of cooperation existing between the Black Panther Party and the white members of the New Left.

While the ultimate decision should be made by the Bureau as to how to effect this wide distribution, St. Louis is of the opinion that one of the most effective ways would be to:

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (2 - 157-5818)
- 1 - JAF/rat (2 - 100-21213)

(6)

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SL 157-3318

be for the New York Division to prepare copies of the letter and anonymously mail it to addresses of New Left organizations and members, which addresses would have to be furnished by the individual divisions.

Copies of this article are also enclosed for the information of Chicago and New York.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Conclusion

Springfield, Lynd Chicago: In her response to Julius Lester, Kathleen Casey (July 3) says that while not about to hesitate to make judgments about the Black movement.

I will take her at her word. I
think her attack on Lester is
sensible, & disprove to the new left.

My concern is not the substantive difference between Mrs. Carter and Lewis. I understood Carter to be saying that white leaders tried to build a movement in the white community, as SNCC has asked them to do since 1956, and should not permit testing positions on the political side of the movement, or even support for a black movement, to divert them from that task. Mrs. Lewis's concern is the attitude that accompanies her opposition. She calls James Farmer a "black employer of white money," a "snake growing from the viper," the "enemy" to the "domestics" and the "Goyan" and says Carter stole his writings.

speaks of his "business"; finally she hits Lester with "punka, sirna, and cowrie" and says fuck them and "fuck Julius Lester."

I have been told that during a dispute between the Panthers and SNCC, Panthers with guns went into Jim Forman's office and threatened his life. This story had seemed unbelievable to me until I read Mrs. Cleaver's letter. (Perhaps Mrs. Cleaver or some other member of the Panther can clarify this question. Was Forman threatened?) When a member of the movement speaks of a former co-worker ("...having worked with Julius Lester in SNCC," writes Kathleen Cleaver); or Mrs. Cleaver speaks of Lester, shooting each other does not seem very far away.

It was the Panthers who introduced the style of calling people "pigs." White radicals have tripped over each other, not only to justify the use of that language by the Panthers, but to use it themselves. The Carter letter demonstrates that the history of twentieth century radicalism should have made evident to us long since that belittling, dehumanizing language ("niggers," "running dogs," "pigs," "scabs," "wops") leads to a dehumanized movement. Perhaps when you call someone a pig, the next step is to call any one who disagrees with you a pig and the step after that to make him in fact what you have made him in words, that is, inhuman by killing him.

(LEADS TO PAGE, LINE 4
NEWSPAPER, CITY OF BOSTON.)

Date: _____
Edition: _____
Author: _____
Editor: _____
Title: (CCL-25-175)

Character
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:
Being Evaluated:

100-448006-975

100

1990

CACR: 100-100000-100000
 CACR: 100-100000-100000
 Submitting Office: 100-100000-100000
 CACR: 100-100000-100000

116

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/29/69

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-324) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Columbia letter to Bureau, 2/28/69.

I. SUMMARY OF CHANGES SINCE REFERENCED LETTER

There have been no changes with regard to the types and/or the number of Black Nationalist groups within the Columbia Division since referenced letter.

The following are the known Black Nationalist groups in South Carolina:

1. Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC)
South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.
2. BACC, Voorhees College, Denmark, S. C.
3. Association of Afro-American Students (AAAS)
University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
4. Student League for Black Identity, Clemson
University, Clemson, S. C.
5. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) still has no organization in South Carolina; however, JOHN WESLEY BATTISTE is presently in Charleston, S. C., where he is supporting the employees of the Medical College of S. C. Hospital, Charleston, S. C., in their efforts to form a union. He is the only known SNCC worker presently in the State of South Carolina.

II. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

1. Columbia is continuing to follow the building of the NOI Mosque in Columbia, S. C.; however, the progress continues to be extremely slow. At the appropriate time, City Building

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Columbia

FIA: pel
(3) CUM

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Inspectors will be alerted so that they may inspect this building to insure that all building codes are being complied with.

3. [REDACTED] Columbia, S. C., has been reclassified 1-A and was recently ordered to take his physical examination. The possibility of his being drafted into the military service is being followed closely and [REDACTED] both excellent friends of the FBI and both reliable and established sources, have indicated that it is their desire to draft [REDACTED] since he has not been keeping up academically at the University of S. C., and if he continues to fail his subjects there, there is a good possibility that he will be drafted into the service in the near future.

4. Since practically all of the Black Nationalist Movement in South Carolina is taking place on the college campus, Columbia will initiate an intensive interview program during the summer while students are at home. Bureau authority will be obtained prior to conducting actual interviews. The purpose of these interviews will be to develop informants who will return to their respective colleges this fall and thereafter report on the activities of the Black Nationalist Movement on their respective campuses.

III. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

3. The activities of [REDACTED] previously identified, are followed closely since he is considered to be one of the most militant individuals in South Carolina. His activities are being followed closely with the Selective Service Board and pertinent information is discreetly furnished to that board for whatever action they might desire. This action is being controlled very closely so that the Bureau will not be put in a position of trying to have an individual drafted into the service and [REDACTED] have taken the initiative in this matter.

IV. TANGIBLE RESULTS

V. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None.

[REDACTED]

14

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: May 29, 1969

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-12183)

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-1060) (P)

SUBJECT: "THE VOICE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY"
RACIAL MATTER - DECATUR, ILLINOIS

Enclosed are 10 copies of issues #30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 of "The Voice of the Black Community".

The attached pages of this letter are an analysis of the contents of these issues of "The Voice of the Black Community".

NOT RECORDED
27 JUN 6 1969

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 50) (RM)
- 2 - (157-12183)
- 1 - (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
- 6 - Springfield
- 2 - (157-1060)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]



TRK/es

59 JUN 19 1969

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

120

ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATION

Articles appearing in the 30th Edition of "The Voice of the Black Community" (VOBC) of Intelligence interest are as follows:

The two articles contained on Page 1 of "The Voice of the Black Community" entitled "Porter and Brown Doing Their Thing" have previously been set forth under a separate LHM (Springfield File: 157-1094, entitled "For Souls Only", dated April 11, 1969).

An article written on Page 3 of the VOBC entitled, "How About This" states that the most questionable appointment made by the NIXON Administration was the one made by the Department of Justice Community Relations Service. The article reflects that BEN HOLMAN was selected to succeed ROGER WILKINS to head this agency and HOLMAN is black. The article further reflects that HOLMAN made his remark by exposing Black Muslims in Chicago for a network and his first act after taking office was to fire his Negro administrative assistant and his Negro secretary and replace them with whites. The article goes on to state that while he headed the CRS Public Relations Office, he employed an all white staff and used the consultant services of a white public relations firm to set up meetings for blacks.

A second article on Page 3 entitled, "The Chatterbox" advises that the Black Central Coordinating Committee (BCCC) is still accepting applications for the job of Community Organizer. The article reflects that if you qualify, don't hesitate to apply. The job not only supplies a livelihood, but also supplies the means for helping black people gain recognition in Decatur.

Under the same article another paragraph contains a statement that black students are getting uneasy. The article reflects that none of their demands have been met and talk is going around about doing the whole bit over again. (Decatur High School Boycott). The article states that the schools had better wake up and start keeping its promises or the black students are going to do their thing. The article also states that the support will be much better the next time because more kids are unhappy with the way things are going. Signed: A Black Student.

SI 157-1060

Another article under "Letters To The Editor" on Page 3, further reflects that very little is being done about the demands placed on the school administration during the school boycott.

On Page 6 of the VOBC, an article entitled "The Voice Intent" states "The VOICE has and will continue to bring to you news and events about local black people that we feel is in the best interest of the black community. Using this media as a source of information enhances your chances of getting a true picture of situations that might arise concerning black people." The article further reflects that any items of newsworthy interest should be submitted to the VOBC for consideration.

ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATION

Articles appearing in the 31st Edition of "The Voice of the Black Community" (VOBC) of Intelligence Interest are as follows:

An article written on Page 1 of the VOBC entitled "Blacks Seek Assassins of King" indicates that a deal was made between Defense Attorney PERCY FOREMAN and the Prosecuting Attorney PHIL M. CANALE to swiftly place RAY in solitude to avoid scrutiny by an extended court trial. The article reflects that this was done in order to smother the truth about KING's assassination. The article goes on to state that RAY was involved in a conspiracy and probably served as the "FALL GUY". The article states that by making a deal to avoid a full court investigation, the racist Memphis court and federal government are seeking to avoid any threat of black outrage if the trial reveals political collusion.

On Page 2 of the VOBC, an article entitled "Decatur Or Cairo" advises that with each coming day black people become more aware of the efforts to delete them out of all forms of Americanism. The article reflects that by becoming more aware of the hypocrisy that exists, the blacks are dissenting more vigorously. The article questions whether this dissent is the purpose of the concentration of military vehicles in the area bounded by Broadway Street and the IC tracks just south of Marietta in Decatur. The article also reflects that the training of personnel in this area is being watched with great concern by the predominately blacks who live in this area and questions whether this constitutes a move to contain people who are in search of a true democracy. The article goes on to state that a similar situation is existing in Cairo, Illinois where almost half its population is black but the town is completely controlled by whites. The article states that black brothers are going against the whites and the police and that the white society calls law and order containing black people by any means. The article further reflects that the Local Association for Black Action (LABA) has sent Governor Ogilvie a telegram denouncing the treatment of black people in Cairo and asking that he take whatever steps necessary to guarantee the rights of the black people and that community.

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ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATION

Articles appearing in the 32nd Edition of "The Voice of the Black Community" (VOBC) of Intelligence interest are as follows:

An article on Page 1 of the VOBC entitled "Let Freedom Ring" reflects that the Black Central Coordinating Committee held a memorial for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at the New Canaan Baptist Church and though the crowd was not large, the people who attended, both black and white, were the people of the community who had concerned themselves with the betterment of race relations and dedicated themselves to the uplifting and liberation of black people. The article reflects that the church is small but it was filled, approximately half black and half white. The article further reflects that ARTHUR TATE represented the BCCC as Master of Ceremonies and one of the chief speakers was GEORGE S. GRAYNE.

An article on Page 3 of the VOBC entitled "Chatter Box" states that the percentages were not encouraging at the memorial for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. The article reflects that half white and half black attended the church when there should have been only black people. The article reflects that the black community was honoring a man who passively sought equality and justice for all of humanity, and yet the black people denied him this hour. It further reflects that blacks have also denied young militants who have attempted to achieve the same goals by other methods. The article is ended with the question, "What do you people want?"

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ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATION

Articles appearing in the 33rd Edition of "The Voice of the Black Community" (VOBC) of Intelligence interest are as follows:

An article on Page 1 of the VOBC entitled "Cairo, Land of the Free?" states that the federal government in recent years has applied so much pressure on the Ku Klux Klan that they went underground. The article advises that the Ku Klux Klan is now using guerilla tactics to harass and humiliate black people of the South because they are afraid of the federal intervention. The article goes on to state that in the state of Illinois we have vigilantes patrolling the streets of Cairo making no attempt to hide from the law because their actions have received the blessings of the law enforcement body. The article reflects that Father MONTROY led a delegation that came from all over the state consisting of 20 black citizens from Cairo, over 100 white clergymen, one black clergyman and other interested citizens from mid Illinois. It states that they sought and received an audience with black legislators from Illinois, asking that they do something to bring the matter to the Governor's attention. The article reflects that in the past two years there has not been one black person sit on the jury in Judge SPOONER's court in Cairo. The article further reflects that black people are threatened at the polls by loss of jobs and that the median income of the blacks in Cairo is \$1600 per year. The article goes on to reflect that the young black leader of the community has stated that they are attempting to establish an interrelated black community through black co-ops and at present they have in operation a black supermarket. The article states they have also imposed a boycott on all downtown businesses and that the 17th Street Church in Cairo is the only church that will open its doors so that they might have community meetings.

The editor of "The Voice of the Black Community", HORACE G. LIVINGSTON, JR., advises that DAVE LIVINGSTON, a member of the group who went to Springfield from Decatur, asked Father MONTROY if the FBI had been called in. Father MONTROY said, "Yes, they are there, but they are investigating us for anti-riot activities."

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A second article on the same page entitled "BCCC Selects Grayned" states that GEORGE S. GRAYNED has been selected by the Black Central Coordinating Committee (BCCC) for the job of community organizer in Decatur, Illinois. The article reflects that the BCCC, a committee composed of most black organizations in Decatur was formed as an aftermath of the school boycott several months ago, and since its organization it has been the general consensus of all representatives that a coordinator was needed. The coordinator was suppose to establish rapport between organizations, combine the efforts and endeavors of all black groups and direct them toward a common goal. The article further reflects that last but not least he would work in the community to develop the potential of aspirants who in the past have been denied. The article goes on to state that GRAYNED is a past employee of the Illinois Youth Commission, U. S. Department of Labor, and past president of the Local Association for Black Action. The article reflects that GRAYNED's duties begin in his new position on April 15, 1969 and his office is temporarily located in the ODO quarters on the corner of West Main and Church Streets. The article reflects that GEORGE GRAYNED is well qualified to man this position as he has played a leading role in this city in the quest for human decency and human rights. The article states he is a graduate of Eisenhower High School and has three years college education. The article further reflects that black Decatur is beginning to move toward a better life for all its citizens and establishing a community organizer is just one of the many things the BCCC has planned in hopes of creating a better atmosphere within the city.

On Page 2 of the VOBG an article entitled "As I See It" by HORACE G. LIVINGSTON, JR., states that complacency once again has taken its toll in the black community. The article reflects that in Saturday's election, T. EUGENE BLANCHARD, the only candidate on the ticket who showed any concern for black people was defeated. The article goes on to state that the election of these officials that govern the community is the one way that the black people can decide what type of government they want. The article reflects that blacks cannot lay the blame for corrupt, inefficient, racist officials at the feet of white people if they do not use their voting strength.

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ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATION

Articles appearing in the 34th Edition of "The Voice of the Black Community" (VOBC) of Intelligence interest are as follows:

The cover of "The Voice of the Black Community" is filled with large letters stating "Black Unity Must Be If Black People Are To Be, Together There Is Salvation - To Be Black Is To Be Proud, To Be Proud Is To Be Truly Beautiful".

On Page 2 of "The Voice of the Black Community" under a title "As I See It" by HORACE G. LIVINGSTON, JR., the editor of the VOBC reflects that as a people the blacks have failed miserably in Decatur in grasping how urgent the need is for unity in the black community. The article reflects that the editor will continue to write about black unity until it catches on and until they have an inter-related community dedicated to help all black people.

On Page 3 under an article entitled "Letters to the Editor", a letter signed "Burned-up" states that top level organizations in Christendom all recognize the imperative to provide funds for communities to free someone within the black community from the white man's pursestrings to organize groups within the city to bring about social changes in living conditions for the black and the poor. The article further reflects that the BCCC 21 delegates from the seven such groups have chosen a person to do this very job in their community, however, the money verbally promised by the various churches in the community has not been provided. The letter states that the funds would be given with no strings attached and that this was suppose to mean the money would be given to the blacks to "do their own thing" in their own way. The article further reflects that all the black pride and black dignity they could muster they proudly announced that their leader is to be GEORGE GRAYNEED, and as soon as the news reached the ears of the "Decatur Review" and they decided to write a story in the usual white fashion, all possible rumors, scandals, and controversies were included in the article. The article reflects that as a result various members of the BCCC began getting phone calls from various white clergymen, pleading "Anybody but George". The letter states that anyone whitey doesn't want is sure to be the right man for the job.

The letter reflects that their man, GEORGE GRAYNE, is a hometown man and they are expecting him to work with groups to do the things necessary to make Decatur a better place in which to live. The letter closes with the statement, "Will it be Build, Baby, Build, or Burn, Baby, Burn?"

On Page 5 of "The Voice of the Black Community" an article entitled "in the wilderness: Dick Gregory" contains portions of a speech given by DICK GREGORY. This article contains a statement which has quoted DICK GREGORY as saying "The Jewish reaction to black antisemitism shows the structure of the racist system. Every Jew in America over 20 years old knows another Jew that don't like niggers. So when you run across a nigger that don't like Jews, the only upsetting thing about it is that the nigger is the lowest thing on the totem pole and it's an insult." The article goes on to reflect that GREGORY states "America is an anti-semitic nation. Black folks have always wanted to be like white folks, so we picked up the bad habits with the good. Personally, I tell the kids I'm glad black anti-semitism came out because now for the first time you know it's there. Every black man in America in a large urban city done heard his momma make an anti-semitic statement. Only the white folks didn't know it, the Jews didn't know it and it was OK. But it's BEEN there and the only way to get it out is to get it in the open. That's the only thing that's going to stop it."

The article goes on to reflect that the high school kids in the country are demanding changes in their education and they will take these changes into the colleges and create problems for the future.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/29/69

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-438)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-TYPE HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Minneapolis letter dated 3/3/69.

Since re letter there has been no racially-oriented violence in the Minneapolis Division. There has been no information developed indicating activation of any Black Nationalist-type hate groups, including the Black Panther Party. As noted before, Minneapolis does have a Nation of Islam group present, whose membership is constant, and which group has not been involved in any racial disturbances.

Minneapolis does have close informant coverage in the Negro community and will continue to follow closely the activity of the few militants in the Minneapolis Division that might possibly be involved in organizing a Black Nationalist-type hate group.

1-806
② - Bureau
2 - Minneapolis
RRH:cjp
(4)

REC-5

14 JUN 2 1969

Deputy
RACIAL



JUN 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

129

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/28/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(UNITED BLACK BROTHERS OF SYRACUSE)

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated 3/11/69 and
Bureau letter to Albany dated 3/25/69.

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was contacted on 4/1/69, regarding the funding
of the United Black Brothers Organization by the Syracuse
area Council of Churches. [REDACTED] advised that he has
recently notified the Council of Churches that he is resigning
his position as [REDACTED]
He advised that after that date, he will not be a member [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] noted that there has been no further funding of UBB by the
Council of Churches since the original \$1,000 donation.

[REDACTED] was contacted on 5/6/69,
regarding the possibility of printing a discrediting
article about UBB activities. [REDACTED] did not furnish
a commitment at this time but he indicated that he would
consider the matter and advise of his decision at a later date.
Several attempts were made to recontact [REDACTED] during
the week of 5/12/69, but he was away from the city of Syracuse
on a business trip. He will be contacted regarding this matter
as soon as possible and the Bureau will be advised.

(2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
LMQ:ktc
(4)

REC-5/10 44-106-1

25 JUN 2 1969



JUN 5 - 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SEC.

130

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/27/69

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM--
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Jackson let to Bureau, 2/26/69.

QUARTERLY PROGRESS LETTER

The following changes in the overall Black Nationalist movement in the Jackson Division have occurred over recent months:

- 1) Republic of New Africa (RNA) has been attempting to organize a chapter in Jackson and has set up a consul for the RNA in Jackson.
- 2) Nation of Islam (NOI) representatives have been attempting to organize an NOI cell among the Negro element in the Meridian vicinity. The original organizer who is from Miami, Florida, has left the state and organizational activity has only shown very limited success to date.
- 3) A Black Student Union has been established at the University of Mississippi, Oxford; a Black Student Organization has been organized at Delta State College, Cleveland, Miss., and an Afro-American Society has been seeking to obtain campus approval at Jackson State College, Jackson, Miss. No extremist activities have yet been undertaken by any of these three new student groups at present.

1-4060
(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Jackson
TF/clm

REC-5

10 JUN 2 1969

RACIAL OBJECT.



JUN 5 - Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The Jackson Division is presently studying various aspects in the operation of three NOI cells in the Jackson Division for information which could be used as a basis for a subsequent counterintelligence measure. When appropriate data developed and proposal determined appropriate, a recommendation will be submitted to the Bureau for approval in this regard.

Activities of other Black Nationalist extremists and groups are constantly being analyzed to determine if logical counterintelligence operations can be appropriate re these individuals and/or groups.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau, 4/16/69, wherein the Jackson Division submitted for Bureau approval a recommendation that an anonymous letter be submitted to independent Jackson Division black extremist [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This letter was to be written as if prepared by a Tougaloo College Defense Committee and worded in such a manner that it would indicate the student body at TC was very upset with [REDACTED] activities on the campus even though not a student and were planning to take direct or indirect actions to counteract his activities if he continued to frequent the campus.

Bureau approval was obtained to forward this letter by airtel dated 4/23/69. The letter was prepared and mailed to Jackson, Miss., on 4/25/69.




III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

[REDACTED]



IV. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The Jackson Division has been concentrating with informant coverage and other counterintelligence measures on the Tougaloo College Political Action Committee (PAC), a SNCC affiliate at Tougaloo, Miss. In the past several weeks, in large part due to these efforts, PAC has had a significant decrease in activities, membership and popularity on the TC campus. Informants say that PAC has reached its lowest level since its beginning a few years earlier on the campus.


Due to FBI spotlighting of him and his activities, and close advisement of local authorities of these activities,  was arrested on a felony charge of possession of marijuana in  He was subsequently convicted and received a fine and three-year sentence which he has appealed. Since this conviction, he has continued to be active in the Black Nationalist field in the Jackson Division; however, at a substantially subdued pace and in a manner where he tries to protect his own

JN 100-980

[REDACTED]

involvement in any activities. He refuses to have his name placed in any newspapers or other Black Nationalist publications which he was formerly active in publishing and distributing.

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 5/27/69

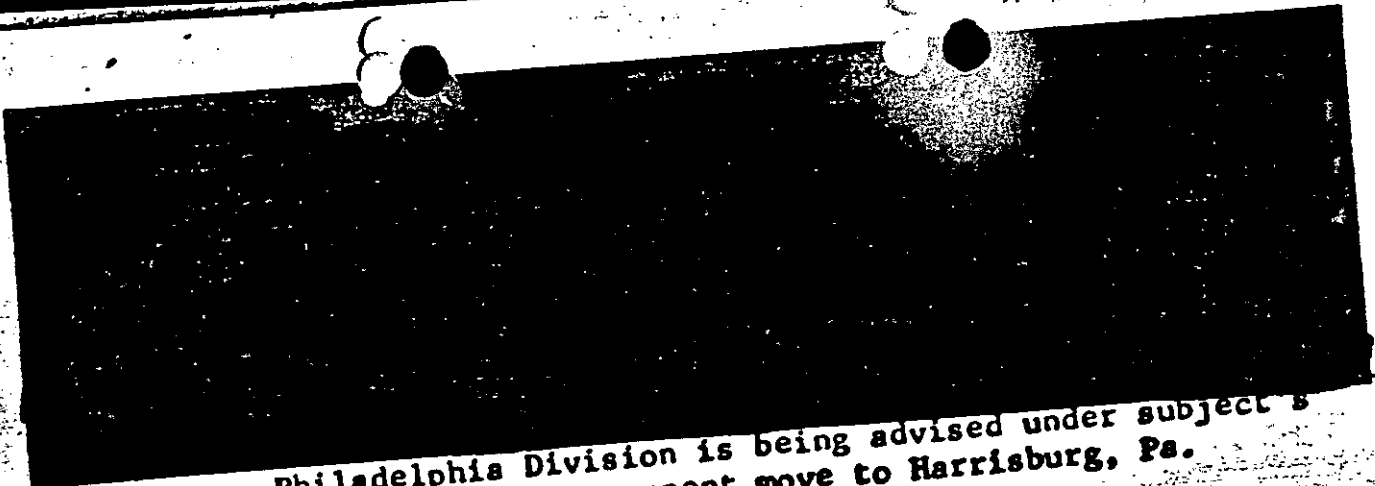
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, -JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau airtel to Jackson, 4/23/69; Jackson
airtel to Bureau, 4/25/69.

The following information has been developed re
results of anonymous letter mailed 4/25/69, to



Philadelphia Division is being advised under subject's
main file caption re his permanent move to Harrisburg, Pa.

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/28/69

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Bulet to San Francisco, 4/23/69.

Referenced letter directed specified offices to specifically comment on turn of events, regarding dissension between BPP National leaders and dissident BPP elements as concerns BPP beliefs and program, as it relates to its BPP Chapter and how it could relate nationally. Comments were to be placed in bi-weekly letter submitted regarding BPP.

It is to be noted that the Jackson Division has no known BPP Chapter and accordingly, is not submitting bi-weekly letters. No information has been developed that any BPP elements are attempting to set up any BPP Chapter in Miss.

The Jackson Division has a pending case on BPP and is continually contacting informants and sources regarding and possible BPP activity in Miss. Any information developed will be provided expeditiously to Bureau and San Francisco, as well as any information or suggestions of value regarding counterintelligence proposals against BPP nationally.

REC 4

969

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-601) (RM)
1 - Jackson (100-980)

10 JUN 2 1969

TF/bb
(5)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 JUN 1969 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Seattle letter to Bureau, 5/12/69.

In response to Bureau instructions contained in Bureau letter to Baltimore, 11/25/68, the following information is being furnished.

I. Operations Under Consideration

In line with information furnished in Seattle letter to Bureau, May 12, 1969, a review of the Seattle files reflects the possibility that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Consideration is also being given to interviews with [REDACTED] after he has been sentenced on a local armed robbery charge.

II. Operations Being Effected

BPP member [REDACTED] has been interviewed by Bureau agents on several occasions and has furnished substantial pertinent information. Continuing efforts are being made to [REDACTED]

III. Tangible Results

None.

IV. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None.

The next bi-weekly letter will be submitted June 9, 1969.

2 - Bureau (REG)
2 - Seattle
WHW:cmh
(4)

REC 90

2 JUN 2 1969

55 JUN 6 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM :

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re San Francisco airtel, dated 5/14/69.

Set forth herewith are the present developments in captioned program.

(1) Breakfast for Children. It has been learned that BPP headquarters intends to terminate this program when the spring school session comes to an end in a few weeks. Plans to resume in the fall are unknown. It is expected that "Black Liberation Schools," classes for school children, will be undertaken this summer. This will be undoubtedly an attempt to indoctrinate young children in BPP philosophy. This will be followed closely.

(2) The Stokely Carmichael expulsion letter. Just prior to departing for London and Paris this past week, [REDACTED] BPP, advised DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, that "something from STOKELY" had arrived but he was sending it on to [REDACTED] who was then in Boston. The "something" was not further explained. Boston is the center of operations of the one-time BPP [REDACTED] who formerly travelled as aide to STOKELY and has always been considered a close supporter of STOKELY. [REDACTED] is in official disfavor with the BPP and it is expected that one of the reasons for [REDACTED] to go to Boston was to "deal with" [REDACTED] and his alleged irregularities. It is not known what [REDACTED] ascertained from [REDACTED] or what action, if any, he took.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - Boston (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)
- 1 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Info)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco
- WAC:bfr
- (8)

REC-20

100-448006-967

EX 10

MAY 29 1969

JUN 24 1969

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1969

139

SF 157-601
WAC:bfr

It also seems possible that [redacted] and more particularly KATHLEEN CLEAVER, who is with [redacted] might try to see CARMICHAEL, if he is still in Europe. There were, however, no known plans to do this prior to the departure of KATHLEEN CLEAVER and [redacted]

Thus, at this time, in spite of the attacks on CARMICHAEL and SNCC by BOBBY SEALE in the "Black Panther", the status of the relationship between the BPP and CARMICHAEL is not clear. CARMICHAEL's name is still on the BPP masthead as one of the officers of the BPP.

Recently, headquarters heard a report that [redacted] of SNCC was trying to speak to a political education class in New York. Headquarters stated that under no conditions should [redacted] be allowed to speak.

The SNCC group has been accused of practising cultural nationalism, an unacceptable philosophy as far as the BPP is concerned. An expulsion letter covering such prominent SNCC people as STOKELY, [redacted] would be relatively simple, concentrating on the cultural nationalism issue. However, to expel STOKELY alone, more specific issues would have to be considered and this seems more difficult to conceive when details as to why SEALE is "against STOKELY" are lacking. Although it is agreed that removing STOKELY permanently from the BPP would result in a major defection, it may be desirable to consider holding up this expulsion until more facts are known. To aid San Francisco in its composition of such a letter, suggestions from Atlanta, Boston, New York, and WFO are solicited, with emphasis on any knowledge they may have on why STOKELY and the BPP are at odds.

Concerning the letterhead paper furnished by Houston (with Central Committee signatures) and San Francisco, it seems that headquarters uses a "letterhead stencil" and runs off copies of the old letterhead when they are needed. Thus, both the signatures and the letterhead seem to be valid and in use at the present time.

Both typewriters at headquarters are inoperative at present and the Party borrows machines from various friends. Thus, letters from headquarters can be on various machines.

SF 157-601
WAC:bfr

(3) A recent Counterintelligence operation that was very successful.

The bc'rw described episode illustrates the fact that timing and opportunity when combined with background knowledge can produce above average results. The episode was undertaken against BOBBY SEALE, when it was a question of minutes to decide what could be safely undertaken.

BOBBY SEALE was in New Haven speaking at Yale University on May 19, 1969. He was scheduled to proceed from there to Eugene, Corvallis and Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington, for paid appearances.

It was only when SEALE was approaching San Francisco on his return from New Haven that it became known that a possible change in plans was coming. At almost the same time, the attention of the San Francisco Office was drawn to the Eugene bombings where BPP involvement was suspected by the public. As this was on the eve of SEALE's speech, this seemed to be very poor advance publicity for SEALE. It has been known a long time that [REDACTED] does not agree with BOBBY's activities in the BPP and fears for his personal safety. It was therefore determined to telephone [REDACTED] claiming to be a friend from Oregon, bearing the warning that it might be dangerous for SEALE to come up. This was done.

Shortly thereafter, [REDACTED] reported this to BPP headquarters, claiming an unknown brother had sent a warning to BOBBY from Oregon. Headquarters took this very seriously and when BOBBY arrived shortly thereafter, he decided not to go north with "all the action going on up there." He subsequently cancelled a trip to Seattle. It is believed that the above-mentioned telephone call was a pivotal point in persuading SEALE to stay home. The following positive results were gained:

1. Seale definitely passed up \$1130 of badly needed cash in Eugene and \$600 more in Corvallis, plus what else was to be paid in other appearances in the Northwest.

2. He "stood up" audiences expecting him.

SF 157-601

WAC:bfr

3. He caused a possible rift with his SDS partners because:

- a. They went North without SEALE and collected therefore less money.
- b. SEALE refused to return \$150 in advance expense money paid out of his own pocket by TOM HAYDEN of SDS, SEALE saying to REESE ERLICH, HAYDEN's associate, "you paid for a good cause."

This technique can be rarely used to such advantage and in this instance, was an opportunistic endeavor seized upon at the right moment. It is suggested that Los Angeles may have a similar opportunity sometime with the [REDACTED] who fears for his safety and does not seem "sold" on his present actions.

Concerning the above STOKELY matter, Atlanta, New York, and WFO are requested, in addition to suggestions as to the letter, to advise if they know where STOKELY is at present and if it is possible CLEAVER could meet him in Europe. Boston is requested to advise if [REDACTED] is still active around Boston and if [REDACTED] "dealt" with him recently.

New York is to advise as to [REDACTED] present status with BPP although it seems clear he is still not regarded with any favor by the BPP headquarters.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006 Sub-12)

DATE: May 27, 1969

FROM : *[Signature]*

-SAC, Denver (157-199) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBuairtel 3/4/68 and Denver letter 2/26/69.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Operations under consideration | 1 |
| 2. Operations being affected | None |
| 3. Tangible results | None |
| 4. Development of counterintelligence | None |

Bureau should refer to Denver letter dated 5/2/69 regarding operations under consideration.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Denver
FMV:mf
(3)

ST 104

REC-20

100-448006-966
17 MAY 29 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.
[Signature]
810



JUN 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

143

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-440006)

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 5/26/69

*T. [unclear]
(info)*

Re St. Louis letter to Bureau, 2/26/69; Bureau letter to St. Louis, 3/28/69; St. Louis letter to Springfield, 3/7/69; Springfield letter to St. Louis, 3/21/69; and St. Louis airtel to Bureau, 4/4/69.

The following is an intelligence evaluation of the two most recent counterintelligence activities in the Black Nationalist field which were instituted by the St. Louis Division:

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO WIFE OF [REDACTED]

By letter dated 2/28/69, the Bureau authorized St. Louis to mail an anonymous letter to the wife of [REDACTED] of SNCC and former [REDACTED] of the Black Liberators, which letter accused [REDACTED] of being unfaithful to his wife. In order to insure that [REDACTED] was aware that his wife had received this letter, a Xerox copy of it with a cover note from an anonymous friend was mailed from Cairo, Ill., by the Springfield Division on 3/17/69, which was assumed ultimately received by [REDACTED].

In its initial request for approval for the above action, the St. Louis Division anticipated that the above action would force the Black Liberators to spend a great deal of time attempting to discover the source of the letter, and it was also felt that the letter would cause [REDACTED] sufficient concern that it would detract from his SNCC activities and might force him to spend more time with his wife and children and less time in Black Nationalist activities.

[REDACTED]

SL 157-5818

[REDACTED]

been shortly after he received the letter from the "anonymous friend" in Cairo, Ill. He has remained in the Cairo area since that time and is presumably residing with his wife and two daughters there, although it is felt that the Cairo racial situation and the current dispute between [REDACTED] and the Cairo "White Hats" was a strong motivating factor in [REDACTED] going to Cairo. It is also very likely that his real purpose in returning to his wife and children was to attempt to "patch up" any marital difficulties which the letter undoubtedly caused.

BLACKBOARD UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER

Pursuant to Bureau authority received in letter from the Bureau to St. Louis on 4/14/69, the St. Louis Division prepared 200 copies of BLACKBOARD, an alleged underground newspaper of the black students of Southern Illinois University (SIU). It was mailed anonymously by Special Agents of the St. Louis Division at Edwardsville, Ill., and copies of it were sent to virtually every black activist organization and Black Nationalist leader in the bi-state area.

The following results were noted by the St. Louis Division:

Page 10 of the 4/24/69 issued of the "St. Louis American", a weekly newspaper published in St. Louis, Mo., and oriented to the black community, contains a column by FARLEY WILSON, a black columnist for that newspaper. Midway through his column and recitation of various local events, WILSON said, "There is an absolutely scandalous 'underground' sheet floating around both sides of the river that devotes an entire section of its first page to some real dangerous allegations about a few of our 'blacker' black brothers and sisters and some so-called 'bed mating' sure hope that whoever [REDACTED]

SL 157-5818

is printing that jazz is prepared to back it up."

[REDACTED] provided a Xerox copy of BLACKBOARD to the St. Louis FBI Office and advised that copies of it were all over St. Louis and East St. Louis. He stated that his sources have advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He stated that although no one could publicly speak out against the [REDACTED] "the word was out" that [REDACTED] would be punished for his participation in it. [REDACTED] also advised that [REDACTED] was extremely angry about the newspaper, and he had told several people that he was going "to get" [REDACTED] was so angry about it that he attempted to get a local Negro radio station to give him radio time to answer the charges in BLACKBOARD.

[REDACTED]

On 5/14/69, Detective [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that his sources stated that [REDACTED] had been told to "get out of town" by several black leaders as a result of his tirades against the BLACKBOARD newspaper and his outburst at the ACTION meeting.

On 5/14/69, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the Springfield Division that [REDACTED] is still very angry with [REDACTED] for publicizing in BLACKBOARD [REDACTED] previous connections with the Zulu 1200, a black extremist organization in St. Louis, Mo., which is now defunct. [REDACTED] confronted [REDACTED] in person about this recently, and although [REDACTED] attempted to deny any connection with BLACKBOARD, [REDACTED] did not believe [REDACTED] denial. [REDACTED] had no information [REDACTED]

SL 157-5818

[REDACTED]

as to any specific future action which black militants in the East St. Louis, Ill. area might take against [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The St. Louis Division feels, on the basis of the above, that the publication of BLACKBOARD was a most successful counterintelligence endeavor. It is felt that the effectiveness of [REDACTED] has been blunted, and it is unlikely that [REDACTED] be able to regain their former stature. [REDACTED] have probably also lost some degree of influence as a result of BLACKBOARD's publication.

NOTE IN ENVELOPE

May 27, 1969

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
BUDED: 6/9/69

PERSONAL ATTENTION

ReSFairtel 5/14/69.

A review has been made of referenced airtel which contains your thoughts on the Counterintelligence Program (CIP). Your reasoning is not in line with Bureau objectives as to our responsibilities under the CIP.

You state that while the Department of Justice considers the BPP as a violence-prone organization seeking to

- 1 - Atlanta
- 1 - Baltimore
- 1 - Boston
- 1 - Chicago
- 1 - Denver
- 1 - Detroit
- 1 - Los Angeles
- 1 - Newark
- 1 - New Haven
- 1 - New York
- 1 - Seattle
- 1 - WFO

ST-116

MAILED R
MAY 26 1969
COMM-FBI

REC-32

100-448006-964

MAY 28 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

JAM:klw/ekw
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98 JUN 4 1969 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

148

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

overthrow the Government by revolutionary means, "There seems to be little likelihood of this." All information developed to date leads to the obvious conclusion that this group is dedicated to the principle of violent overthrow and will go to any length to further this aim.

You point out that the activities of the BPP have reached the black and white communities as evidenced by their weekly newspaper which has reached a circulation of 45,000. You have previously been instructed to review your files concerning this newspaper to determine whether we could disrupt the mailings of the publication. Your answer stated that you were not in a position to do this. You must immediately take positive steps to insure that we will be in a position to accomplish CIP objectives including the disruption of the mailing of their publications. You must develop adequate informant coverage to insure that we are in a position to accomplish all of our objectives, which include steps to counteract the impact this group has made.

You state that local and national newspapers continue to publicize information concerning the BPP. This fact automatically lends itself toward mass media disseminations to capitalize on this eagerness and to isolate the organization from the majority of Americans, both black and white. The dissemination of mass media information to selected and trusted newspapermen, pointing out the violent and dangerous nature of a group, has contributed measurably to the decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States. Newspapers will print derogatory information much easier than they will print commendatory information, especially if the organization is by its nature violence-prone. For your information, the San Diego Office has waged an effective CIP against the BPP which has measurably resulted in declining activities and considerable disruption.

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

It is noted that BPP leader Bobby Seale speaks in schools and universities and receives fees of up to \$1,000. This raises counterintelligence opportunities, among which are anonymous disseminations of derogatory information to universities and misuse of funds received.

As it concerns the BPP, you point out that results achieved by utilizing counterintelligence ideas such as publicizing the evils of violence, the lack of morals, the widespread use of narcotics and anonymous mailings, have not been outstanding. This is because a typical black supporter of the BPP is not disturbed by allegations which would upset a white community. You must recognize that one of our primary aims in counterintelligence as it concerns the BPP is to keep this group isolated from the moderate black and white community which may support it. This is most emphatically pointed out in their Breakfast for Children Program, where they are actively soliciting and receiving support from uninformed whites and moderate blacks. In addition, we have received information from San Francisco and other offices indicating that BPP officials are extremely suspicious of each other as to monies received. This also is a fertile ground for CIP and should be explored.

ReSFairtel states that nation-wide mailings to BPP chapter offices would automatically indicate that the FBI was the source. Mailings originating from Oakland, California, would logically be attributed to someone either at national headquarters of the BPP or a dissident who has recently resigned and had access to the records.

You state that the Bureau under the CIP should not attack programs of community interest such as the BPP "Breakfast for Children." You state that this is because many prominent "humanitarians," both white and black, are interested in the program as well as churches which are actively supporting it.

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

You have obviously missed the point. The BPP is not engaged in the "Breakfast for Children" program for humanitarian reasons. This program was formed by the BPP for obvious reasons, including their efforts to create an image of civility, assume community control of Negroes, and to fill adolescent children with their insidious poison. An example of this is set forth in the May 11, 1969, issue of "The Black Panther." Page seven contains an article captioned "Black Panther Revolutionary Wedding." The article points out that two members of the Panthers were married at a church in Oakland, California, which is participating in the Breakfast Program. The crowd consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the Breakfast Program. Instead of a Bible, Bobby Seale used the "Red Book Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" to perform the marriage. After the ceremony, the children sang "We Want a Pork Chop Off the Pig."

The CIP in the San Francisco Office must be re-evaluated. During the reevaluation, give thorough consideration to the adequacy of the personnel assigned. Insure that you are utilizing the best personnel available in this program. Advise the Bureau of the results of your reevaluation by June 9, 1969.

Referenced airtel mentions several specific CIP proposals now pending. Instructions will be furnished pertinent offices by separate communication.

NOTE: San Francisco has furnished an evaluation of the CIP in that office as it affects the BPP. That office is not in line with Bureau objectives in the use of counterintelligence. We are calling attention to their derelictions and point out various situations where they should have proposed counterintelligence. We are calling for a reevaluation of the whole thinking behind counterintelligence in the San Francisco Office.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448000)

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Kansas City letter to Bureau 5/12/69.

BIWEEKLY LETTER - PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
AGAINST BLACK PANTHER PARTY CHAPTER
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

No specific counterintelligence action against the
Kansas City, Missouri, BPP chapter is proposed at this
time, in addition to recommendations previously made and
under consideration by the Bureau.

4 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - Kansas City
HKJ:csd
(6)

REC 17

963

100-80-977

MAY 27 1969
FBI - KANSAS CITY
810

55 JUN 6 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

152

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-746) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RM - BPP

Re Buffalo letter to the Bureau, 5/12/69 and
Bureau letter to San Francisco, 4/23/69.

There has been no change in the status of the
Rochester Branch of the Black Panther Party (BPP) sub-
sequent to submission of Buffalo letter, dated 5/12/69.

The Rochester Branch, according to [REDACTED]
has been inactive for almost three months, and according
to BPP [REDACTED] will have to be reorganized
before any activity can be resumed in the Rochester area. *dh*

As yet, the Branch has not located a new head-
quarters site, is disorganized and lacks a leadership against
which a planned counterintelligence project could be operated.

Buffalo will follow the matter closely and keep the
Bureau advised of its recommendations.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Buffalo
JRC:smk
(4)

REC 25

44 MAY 28 1969

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70 5-1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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FBI

Date: 5/14/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-12448)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY(BPP)

Re Bureau airtel dated 5/2/69.

The object of this letter is to analyze the Counter-intelligence Program of the Bureau as so far practised and to suggest lines of procedure for the future, in an attempt to seek avenues of improving our efforts and results, as well as to comment on three suggested projects.

(1) The Black Panther Party (BPP)

The Department of Justice has considered the BPP as a violence-prone organization seeking to overthrow the government of the United States by revolutionary and violent means. While there seems to be little liklihood of this, the BPP has

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Chicago (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Denver (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Newark (Info)(RM)
- 1 - New Haven (Info)(RM)
- 2 - Seattle (Info)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco

WAC:bfr
(20)

RECEIVED COPY

Approved: _____

Sent _____

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Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

154

stirred up Negro communities with threats of violence, and it reportedly has a stock-pile of weapons which cost a considerable sum to accumulate. The Party today is mainly composed of Negro youths from the streets, male and female, school truants and drop-outs, many with criminal records or tendencies, with a weakness for narcotics and sexual promiscuity. Violence comes naturally to them. The "Black Panther" newspaper features articles on violence, carries pictures of guns in prominent places, and prints revolutionary slogans. Behind this facade of militancy is a never-ending cry for justice for the Negro, job opportunities, and the familiar allusions to 400 years of slavery, etc. The Party in its daily work, maintains it is attempting to improve the lot of the Negro people. Many Negroes, of course, do not believe that the methods used by the BPP in the past are the proper ones to achieve the desired objectives. However, while the Negro community does not agree in the main with the expressed views of violence, it, along with much of the white community, does support such programs as the breakfasts for children, legal aid to arrested Negroes, etc. Their success in reaching the communities, both black and white, can be measured by the following:

- A. The weekly newspaper circulation has increased to over 45,000.
- B. The local and national news media continue to attend press conferences called by the BPP and to publish and publicize what was said there. For instance, "Time" magazine is sending out teams of prominent newscasters, such as ERIC SEVAREID and JOHN CHANCELLOR to interview black leaders for a TV special. They want to interview BOBBY SEALE and DAVID HILLIARD. They must certainly know of the revolutionary position of the BPP, yet they are willing to give it additional publicity. The BPP espouses the cause of Communist China and attacks the "revisionist clique" of the U.S.S.R. BOBBY SEALE and others of the BPP share platforms with leaders of the New Left. SEALE is in demand as a speaker in schools and universities, both domestic and foreign, where he asks for and receives a fee of \$1000 for remarks which by now seem repetitious.

SF 157-601
WAC:bfr

The above is mentioned to emphasize the wide-spread, international publicity given this group at a time when the membership nationally is probably less than 1000 and even more likely to be perhaps only 500. The Panthers right now are not many people and perhaps also do not represent many people, as far as most of their actions are concerned. However, they do represent an idea, or a voice in the ghetto, and are often called upon by Negro residents, to come quell a disturbance in a playground or talk to someone alleging police brutality, even if the caller is not a BPP member.

The above is set forth to show the following summary:

- A. The program and the complaints of the BPP are clearly defined in their literature and in the well-publicized appearances of the leaders.
- B. In spite of or possibly because of its violence-preaching, it has struck the notice of the United States and world press.
- C. Some sort of militant organization, if not named the BPP, will continue to attract these same people.

(2) The Role of the FBI to Counter This Particular Group.

The FBI has actually few laws to use in its investigative efforts concerning the BPP. Most of the violations of law incurred by members or sympathizers are of a local nature. However, as a result of intensive investigative efforts, a considerable amount of knowledge has been accumulated by the FBI concerning the BPP. Therefore, it is believed that based on this knowledge, effective counter-intelligence methods to disorganize and disrupt the BPP can be devised. To date, utilizing ideas drawn from the past, such as publicizing the evils of violence, the lack of morals, the widespread use of narcotics and alcoholic beverages, anonymous mailings, etc., results have not been outstanding. The typical black supporter of the BPP is not disturbed by allegations which would upset a white community. The various field offices have used imagination and have strenuously tried to bring forth worthwhile ideas to assist in the project. However, most of the plans have been along the lines of harassment, which, while perhaps causing temporary distress or extra work for a BPP worker, have not had any lasting effects. SEALE and HILLIARD remain

SF 157-601

MAC:bfr

firmly in control of the BPP structure. There have been serious defections and expulsions, many caused by personality clashes. Others arose from disciplinary action during the purges of January, 1969, when many criminal types were expelled. It is believed the personality issue will be always present and occurs regularly without outside inspiration.

The various offices have been interviewing former or present members of the BPP. Agents attempt to show a picture of FBI integrity and fairness, of success against the Klan in the South, etc. It is believed that to have even a chance of success, the FBI must not be completely equated with the "pigs" (local police). At times a Negro will agree that the FBI is different; one being interviewed for the first time by the FBI stated he thought that the Agents had "class." It would appear desirable for the FBI to maintain some of this image to help our future relations with these people. It is, of course, agreed at the outset that the vast majority of Negro militants classify the FBI as "pigs" also, and their opinion cannot be changed.

This leads to the recommendation that counterintelligence work should be of such a nature that it does not convey the impression that:

1. It originated with or can be attributed to the FBI or
2. The FBI is working against the aspirations of the Negro people.

This would mean that nationwide mailings to addresses where only a nationwide organization like the FBI could have knowledge, should be avoided.

Expensive mailings such as the San Diego caricatures are a borderline case, as at first the BPP blamed the us organization but later on blamed the CIA or the FBI. The caricatures caused anger but had no permanent, known effect.

Secondly, attacking programs of community interest such as the breakfasts for children should be avoided, since many prominent "humanitarians", whites as well as blacks, have become interested in this program and churches are actively supporting it.

SF 157-601
WAC:bfr

Examples of successful counterintelligence were the publicity given the withdrawal from the bank of \$30,000 by KATHLEEN CLEAVER, the publicity that the BPP had used funds from the Huey Newton Defense Fund to travel to Mexico, the expulsion of Deacon Alexander from the Los Angeles BPP because he was a member of the CPUSA, and the publicity given the "recruiting" of BPP members as "extras" for a filming of a Berkeley demonstration.

Emphasis should be directed to the "wrong" side of the BPP, violence, taking money from the "brothers", using the Party for personal gain, etc.

Needless to say, the Bureau should in no way be responsible, and thus be blamed, for any counterintelligence tactic which results in death or serious injury to a member of the black community.

As to the specific projects of the Bureau at this time, there are three which are under consideration and will be treated herein.

1. Breakfast For Children. This program is being promoted nationwide by the BPP (see Bureau letter, 5/1/69). It is not believed that this program to date lends itself to "disruption" at this time. The Party is very careful to maintain the "voluntary" aspect of the donations. Complaints of pressure of unauthorized demands so far have been dealt with quickly by headquarters. The members of the BPP get up very early in the morning to prepare the breakfasts, they work hard at getting supplies, and there is no indication of misapplication of the proceeds. In the absence of any information to date that the program is more harmful than beneficial, counter measures should be very carefully considered before being applied. It would not benefit the Bureau to sabotage such a program. San Francisco has interviewed a [redacted] who is active in the breakfast program. [redacted] displayed sympathy for the program. Further efforts of this nature at Sacred Heart Church or any other church are not recommended.

2. A second project was proposed by Houston. This involved renting a Post Office Box by [redacted], and then sending a letter in the name of the paper demanding \$500 from

SF 157-601

WAC:bfr

the various chapters. This idea would arouse speculation by the recipients, but it is believed that they would only pick up the telephone and inquire as to what was going on. The Party uses the telephone to transact its business and the newspaper office regularly telephones all over the country asking for money. Therefore, it is believed that this plan would have no deleterious effect on the operation of the BPP or its newspaper, and its adoption is not recommended.

3. The third plan concerns the proposed forged expulsion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL from the BPP. It is believed this idea is a good one and the following variation is suggested. Instead of writing a letter to all offices of the BPP announcing the expulsion, it is recommended that a letter from BPP headquarters signed by the leading figures be sent to CARMICHAEL himself at SNCC headquarters. Included in the expulsion would be fellow SNCC members, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The grounds would be cultural nationalism. It is to be noted that [REDACTED] has already resigned from the BPP, [REDACTED] is up on charges to report to headquarters for discipline and CARMICHAEL is in official disfavor as a "one-time" Black Panther, to quote the Party newspaper. A letter limited in circulation would not be attributed to the FBI "pigs," and CARMICHAEL might accept it as a true document, even if the Party headquarters were to deny sending it.

The Bureau should note that CARMICHAEL for unknown reasons is still carried on the "Black Panther" masthead as Foreign Minister, notwithstanding the attacks on him in the paper.

The type of typewriter used at BPP headquarters varies. [REDACTED] advise that sometimes they use personally owned machines, sometimes they go over to the Berkeley "Barb" to write on their machines. Some machines are in the homes of leaders or are generally scattered around. Therefore, there is no definite information of value to this project available.

It is not believed that we should ask our newspaper contacts to print a fictitious, forged letter in the guise of a bona-fide document. Such tactics compromise both the Bureau and the newspaper.

SF 157-801
WAC:bfr

In furtherance of this plan, Atlanta, Boston, New York, and WFO are requested to give their opinion as to the best place to address a letter to the above three and if, in their opinion, the letter should be to all three collectively or separately. Since all three are "cultural nationalists" and ~~GNCC~~ is "out" with the BPP, it would seem that treating them together might be the best procedure.

The San Francisco Office is currently attempting to secure a BPP letterhead for use in this project.

San Francisco is withholding submission of the draft letter of expulsion pending a decision on the above suggestion.

Why WAIT?

5/22/69

AIRTEL

a/
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-10)
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM - BPP
SUBMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE DATA

ReBuairtel to Albany 11/19/68, Cincinnati airtel to Bureau 5/9/69, and San Francisco airtel to Bureau 5/9/69.

Referenced San Francisco airtel indicated that [REDACTED] of the BPP in San Francisco, agreed to come to Cincinnati area to give a talk on 5/17/69.

This possible appearance was covered, and no information was received to indicate that [REDACTED] came to the Cincinnati area.

Cincinnati has no known BPP chapters.

No information has been received to indicate that the BPP group in Columbus, Ohio, has taken any action in the recent past. They do not have a headquarters, and the group may have become defunct due to disruptive tactics against them by the Columbus PD.

- (3 - Bureau (RM) *O*
(1 - 100-448006, Counterintelligence Program)
2 - San Francisco (157-2137) (RM)
5 - Cincinnati

JTP:jms
(10)

100-448006-

NOT RECORDED

152 MAY 28 1969

59 JUN 9 - 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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CI 157-2346

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
group talk to any member of the BPP group, they always ask about the BPP. This has possibly been one of the reasons for the recent decline in activity of the BPP in Columbus.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has apparently not been able to accomplish anything further in organizing a BPP chapter in Steubenville, Ohio, as he is kept on the road continuously by his superiors.

All Agents handling BPP matters are aware of the importance of this matter and the efforts to obtain information, which could lead to prosecution in this matter, but we have nothing to report as we do not have any BPP chapters or activity in the Cincinnati Division at this time.

COMMENTS RE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

Cincinnati has no recommendations re counterintelligence program in connection with BPP chapters at this time as we have no chapters. A request for authority to interview [REDACTED] a known leader of the BPP group in Columbus, has been submitted to the Bureau. In the event this authority is received, he will be interviewed at an early date.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/22/69

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

RE: Bureau airtel to Albany 4/24/69;

Omaha at the present time has available no visual material of the type described in referenced airtel relating to violence by black extremists.

Omaha will continue to remain alert for such material which will be submitted to the Bureau when available.

1 - (116) D
② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Omaha
GDW:PJC
(4)

REC-38

2 MAY 28 1969

55 JUN 4 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) [REDACTED]

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Baltimore letter to Bureau, 5/12/69.

No specific counterintelligence measures have been effected for the previous two weeks, 5/12 - 26/69.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

REC 17

100-448006-959

MAY 27 1969

(2) Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore
RJS:jtk
(3)

WRE:10 940

RACIAL INT. SECT.

801



59 JUN 1 - 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

164

Memorandum

DATE: 5/23/69

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, dated 4/24/69.

The Baltimore Division is in the process of having glassy 8" x 10" photographs made of a recent rally and demonstrations by the Black Panther Party (BPP).

These photographs will be submitted as soon as they are prepared.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore

RJS:cp
(3)

1-806

REC-31

100-448006-958
22 MAY 28 1969RACIAL INT. SEC.
165

55 JUN 4 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROUTE IN EN ROUTE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

5/28/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSDairtel and LHM 5/5/69 captioned "Black Panther Party, San Diego Division, Racial Matters."

Page six of referenced airtel contains information indicating that [REDACTED] in San Diego, allegedly took all the money the Panthers had recently collected from merchants for a "public school milk fund." San Diego should remain alert for any follow-up information with which to promulgate specific counterintelligence proposals. Take no action without specific Bureau authority.

JAM:ra (4)

NOTE:

San Diego has actively participated in the counter-intelligence program as it pertains to the BPP. We are calling their attention to information indicating that a BPP leader has apparently misappropriated BPP funds. We are instructing them to consider this in their continuing counterintelligence program.

REC-24

100-14192-957

he MAY 28 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

MAILED 21
MAY 27 1969
COMM-FBI

98 MAY 29 1969

☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

166

ROUTE IN DAY

SAC, Kansas City (100-12448)

5/28/69

RA
Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReKCTel 5/20/69 captioned "Unsub; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] - Victim; Extortion."

In your continuing effort in the counterintelligence program, you should review referenced teletype. Remain alert for any indication that other communications are mailed to businessmen in the Kansas City area.

JAM:ra (4)

NOTE:

K
Kansas City has been active in submitting counterintelligence proposals concerning the BPP. That office furnished teletype on 5/20/69 and pointed out that an anonymous communication had been received by a bank in Kansas City. This communication stated that the recipient was expected to give the Black Panthers \$100 per day. It went on to point out that each business in Kansas City was being requested to donate this amount to help keep "our peaceful organization in operation." We are referring Kansas City to this teletype and instructing them to remain alert for additional mailings with a view of counterintelligence.

100-12448-956
REC-24

MAY 28 1969

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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 21
MAY 27 1969
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

98 MAY 29 1969

167

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

5-28-69

RA 57
Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (BPP)
(BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM)

ReBulet to Baltimore 5-1-69.

Referenced letter requested consideration for specific counterintelligence proposals concerning the disruption of BPP breakfast programs now being served in the cities covered by recipient offices.

Information has been received recently that various personnel in national headquarters of the BPP are infected with venereal disease. In view of this, each office receiving this letter should discreetly contact pertinent local authorities or otherwise obtain local health regulations regarding the handling of food. This information should be used in your consideration of specific CIP proposals regarding the breakfast program. Take no action without specific Bureau authority. K

- 2 - Baltimore (157-2520)
- 2 - Kansas City (100-12448)
- 2 - Seattle (157-721)

JAM:sc
(11)

REC-24

100-448006-95

MAY 28 1969

NOTE:

The BPP has started a breakfast for ghetto children program. They are teaching these children to hate white men in conjunction with these breakfasts. We are attempting to formulate specific counterintelligence techniques to disrupt this nefarious activity. We are instructing various offices to obtain local health regulations as it concerns food handling in view of recent information that several members at national headquarters have a social disease. We are furnishing this information to the offices covering these breakfast programs and instructing them to use this information in their consideration of counterintelligence proposals.

He [signature]

168

MAILED 21
MAY 27 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

98 MAY 29 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 5/5/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BPP)

Re San Francisco letter, 4/21/69.

Submitted herewith is the regular bi-weekly airtel on captioned matter.

There have been no new developments in the San Diego caricature mailings.

Concerning the dissidents, [REDACTED] has been asked to rejoin the BPP; he was seen in the crowd at the May Day Rally at the San Francisco Federal Building. [REDACTED] testified at the recent Federal Grand Jury, mostly about the murder of [REDACTED] which he already had accused, in the press, the BPP of perpetrating. He was not very informative about earlier BPP activities.

This is pertinent when discussing New York suggestion of 4/30/69, wherein it was pointed out that the Party leadership was in confusion due to the frequent changes. Everyone in the BPP knows this, and it is a cause of resentment on the part of many rank-and-file members against SEALE and [REDACTED]. However, the latter two are firmly in control, the press looks to them for interviews, and they do not seem to care how many members drop out or are expelled.

- 2 - Bureau
1 - New York (100-161140)
1 - Denver (157-199)
2 - San Francisco

WAC:bfr

(6)

Sent

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

Special Agent in Charge

MAY 8 1969

1169

SF 157-601

WAC:bfr

has said the BPP would function with as few as 12 members if need be. It could be said that on the surface, the Party is near collapse with many offices closed. However, they still print and sell 45,000 copies weekly of their newspaper, so their message has appealed to some segments of the Negro community.

As to the Denver suggestion of 5/2/69, last paragraph, many BPP members, including dissidents, were given subpoenas to appear at the Grand Jury. Even the dissidents went to the BPP attorney for coaching [redacted] and took the 5th Amendment routine. It is not believed that it would be of any value to claim that they did give valuable information.

Regarding Bureau suggestion of 4/22/69, that we utilize the fact that BPP is not bailing out certain members when arrested, the Party usually does "go bail" when a member is arrested, if it has the money. Right now, BOBBY SEALE is trying to get expense money from a speech at Yale to give to the bail bondsman for some of the New York "21." In those cases where bail was not forthcoming, the principal subject being [redacted] their angle was used, possibly to advantage. [redacted] has been reasonably cooperative during interviews, but has not furnished much of value.

Regarding Bureau suggestion of 4/24/69, that we consider how to misdirect mailings of BPP literature, it does not appear that this office is in a position to do this at this time. It is agreed that failure of mail material to arrive would cause confusion and extra work for the National Distribution Office. This matter will be followed for future possibilities.

How? San Francisco has a deadline of 5/14/69, to submit plans to "expel" STOKELY CARMICHAEL from the BPP. At that time, an analysis of the potential of the Counterintelligence Program to achieve positive results as opposed to programs of harassment which eventually might embarrass or discredit the name of the FBI will be made. Also, at that time, the counterintelligence idea against the "Breakfasts for Children" program and an analysis of the Houston proposal to rent a post office box and seek nationwide contributions to the BPP publications will be taken up.

170

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/20/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

ReBuairtel to Albany, 4/24/69.

The Albany Division has not experienced any serious racial violence that would be a source of obtaining visual material relating to such violence. The Division has experienced no sniping attacks on police, nor have there been discovered any arsenals of black extremists in this Division.

It is noted that a recent take over by black students at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, of one of the University buildings was done under arms by the students. Photographs are presently being obtained by the Ithaca RA and will be submitted to the Bureau in the very near future.

All Agents in the Albany Division have been advised of the needs of the Bureau regarding such visual aids and at such time as a situation may arise that would produce such aids, sufficient copies will be made and submitted to the Bureau.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
TCK:gab
(4)

REC-49

12 MAY 26 1969



55 JUN 4 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

171

FBI

Date: 5/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) *h*
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5492)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 4/24/69.

Birmingham has no material to furnish of the
nature described in referenced Bureau airtel.

1-806 D
2 - Bureau
1 - Birmingham
RSM:sjm
(3)

REC-25

25 MAY 24 1969

RACIAL *DM*

50 MAY 29 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

172

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/22/69

FROM : SAC, Portland (157-347)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)
BUDED: 5/23/69

ReBuairtel 4/24/69.

Portland will submit to the Bureau photographs of bombing sites at Eugene, Oregon, arising out of a series of bombings 5/19-20/69, in the event investigation connects these acts with BPP.

1-806 P
2 Bureau (AM) (RM)
1 Portland

JVH:lam
-(3)

REC 54

100-448006-951
10 MAY 126 1969

RACIAL INT.



59 JUN 2

1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

173

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/22/69

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-802) - P -

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany 4/24/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven glossy 8" by 10" photographs taken 2/9/69 after the arrest of several Chicago Black Panther Party (BPP) members in Champaign-Urbana, Ill.

These photographs were furnished by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Champaign County, Ill.

1-9060
2 - Bureau (100-448006) (Enc. 7) (ENCLOSURE ATTACHED)
2 - Springfield (157-802)
WR:mpb
(4)

ENCLOSURE
REC-15

17 MAY 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

79 JUN 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



9/11





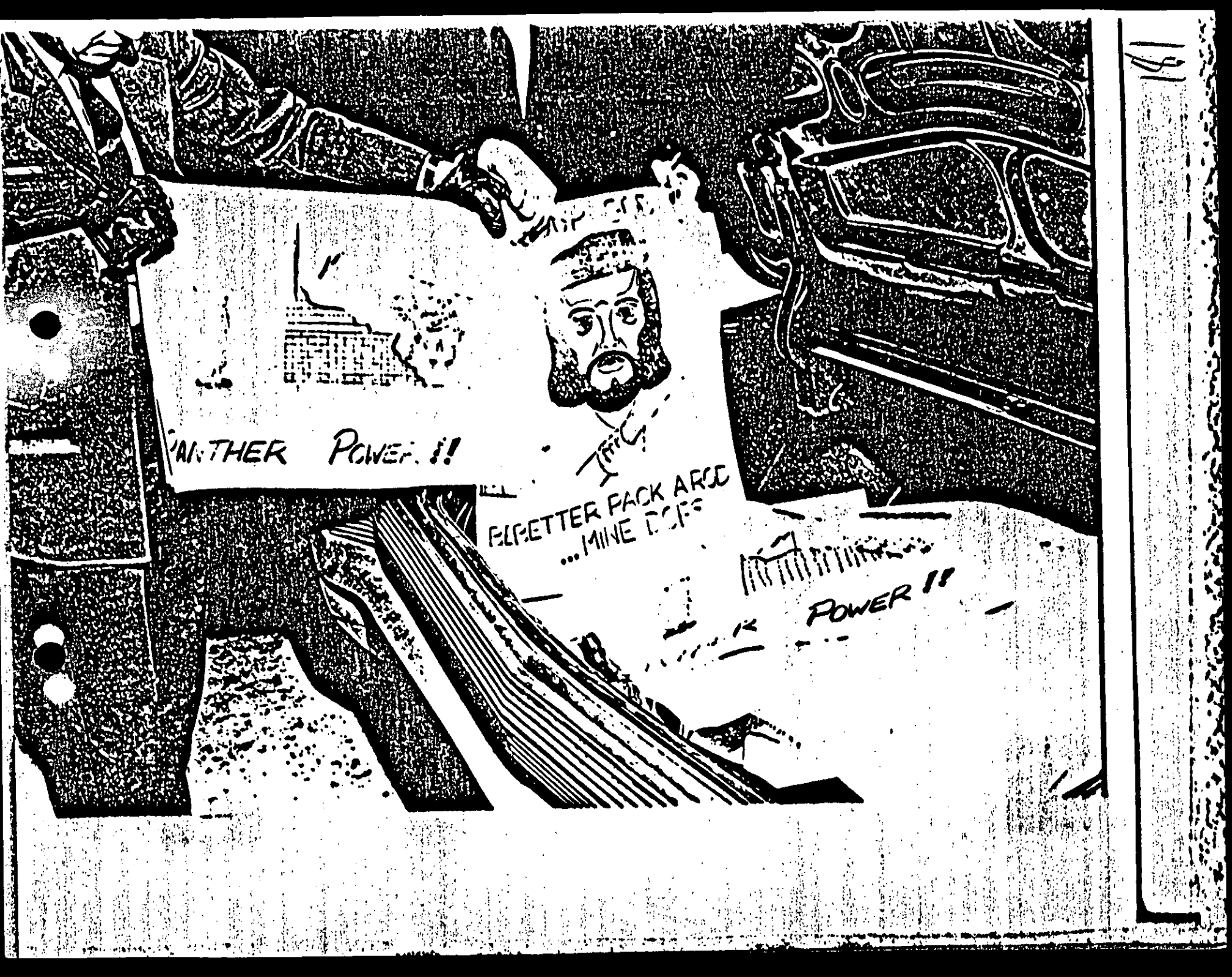
6/1





081





PANTHER POWER!!

FIREBETTER FACK ARSE
...MINE DICKS

POWER!!

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: May 21, 1969

FROM : *WMA*
SAC, MOBILE (157-2578)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)
BUDED 5/23/69

Reference is made to Bureau letter to all offices, 4/24/69.

The Bureau is advised that Mobile does not currently have any material relating to violence by Black Extremists to be forwarded to the Bureau in line with Bureau instructions. Any such information received in the future, however, will be promptly brought to the Bureau's attention.

1-806
(2) - Bureau
1 - Mobile
JTB/brh
(3)

REC-24

17 MAY 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 MAY 29 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/21/69

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4542) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
~~(VISUAL AIDS)~~

Re Memphis letter to Bureau, 2/26/69.

90-DAY PROGRESS LETTER:

I. COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The Memphis Office is at the present time giving consideration to instituting an interview program of all members of the Invader organization at Memphis, Tennessee, and coordinating this interview program with the

Through [redacted] Services have been offered to the Bureau in any way the Bureau feels is best suited to make use of [redacted] knowledge re this Invader organization. By separate communication, Bureau permission is being requested to place in operation the following counterintelligence program by the Memphis Office. It is desired that two BuAgents familiar with Invaders at Memphis begin an interview program of all Invaders and that on the morning when an individual Invader is interviewed by the two BuAgents it is planned to have a followup interview on that afternoon by a

[redacted] and the following morning it is anticipated

2-Bureau (RM)

4-Memphis

(1 - 100-4542)

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

HSL:PEH

(6)

54 MAY 28 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

23 MAY 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.

that the BuAgents will return and a reinterview of this Invader will take place. The hope of such an interview program is that in prior interviews with members of the Invaders, there is a tendency on their part to deny any connection with the Invader organization and the resulting interview boils down to an argument and in many cases it is impossible to get the Invader to admit membership in such an organization. By having [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] interview the Invader subsequent to the interview by BuAgents, it will be impossible for the Invader being interviewed to deny membership in the Invader organization when confronted with a person who has [REDACTED]

The followup interview by BuAgents is hoped to produce persons who will be convinced that their best interest in this matter will be to act as informants for the Bureau.

The Memphis Office is continuing its routine interview of rank and file Invader members and it is believed that within the near future one or more of the interviewees will be convinced to act as informants against this organization.

The above-mentioned interview program in conjunction with [REDACTED] not only is expected to result in the development of good racial informants within the Invader organization but it is believed that such a program will tend to disrupt the Invader activities, cause some Invaders to drop out of the organization, and create a feeling among the Invaders that their activities are under constant observation [REDACTED] the FBI. In connection with this program, certain designated key persons within the Invader organization are not to be included in this Invader program in the hope of creating suspicion on the part of rank and file Invaders as to why these persons were not interviewed hoping to create suspicion that one or more of these persons not interviewed is in actuality working for the Memphis PD and/or FBI.

II. COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Interview Program

As set forth above, the Memphis Office is continuing its interview program whereby routine interviews are being conducted with rank and file members of the Invaders. At the present time, it appears that one possible informant has been developed through this program.

In addition, information is continually being leaked to [REDACTED] and she is continually urged to write articles pointing out the criminal activity of the Invader organization in an effort to discredit this organization.

The Memphis Office is in constant communication with [REDACTED] and exchanges information on a daily basis re black power activities at Memphis along with SDS activities and New Left activities. This exchange of information has resulted in numerous arrests on the part of the Invaders and members of SDS at Memphis. This counterintelligence program will be continued.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

Information has been received from various leaders of the Invader organization indicating that their operations are being seriously hampered by the distrust and lack of confidence in the Invader organization by the rank and file Negro resident of Memphis. Information has been received indicating that the counterintelligence activities directed against the Invaders has resulted in many of their leaders who are out on bond to be most circumspect in their criminal activities and their black power activities through fear of being arrested by the Memphis PD. Information has been received indicating that most of the leaders are convinced that based on interview program of the Memphis Office that not only are all of the leaders of the Invaders under constant surveillance by the FBI but that their telephones are tapped, their mail is opened, and that within their ranks are several informants. This has tended to curtail

activities with regard to black militancy on the part of the Invader organization.

The articles written by [REDACTED] depicting the Invaders as a criminal group of thugs has been most beneficial to the Memphis PD inasmuch as many Negro citizens have called in to the PD and furnished information re Invaders almost without exception stating that after reading the articles by [REDACTED] they are now convinced that the Invaders are only interested in criminal activity and are not interested in elevating the Negro race.

Every care is being exercised to insure that information furnished to [REDACTED] is of a nature which could be obtained at public meetings or through public sources. She is continually cautioned to insure that the source of her information is not attributable as the FBI.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

One of the most effective deterrents yet developed at Memphis directed toward disruption of the Invader activities was [REDACTED] at

[REDACTED] Informants within the Invader group have advised that it has been brought to the attention of the rank and file member of the Invader that these calls are now known by the Invader group to have originated from [REDACTED] and there is a considerable amount of distrust on the part of the Invader group toward the three designated persons who have been called by [REDACTED]. In addition, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has as a policy on several occasions when the opportunity presented itself approached these three persons when on the street, appeared most friendly to them, and in leaving has mentioned that they should keep in touch more frequently. This also has been a topic of discussion among the Invaders and has created considerable distrust among the individual members of the Invader organization.

ME 100-4542

According to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] this program will be continued.

The Memphis Office is remaining alert to any counterintelligence program which might tend to disrupt or neutralize the black militancy of the Invader group. The Bureau will be kept advised of all developments.

147

ROUTE ON ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SAC, Memphis (100-4542)

5/29/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) 147

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(INVADERS)

Reurlet 5/21/69.

Relet requested authority under the Counterintelligence Program to interview officers and leading members of the Invaders, a black extremist group in Memphis. These interviews would be followed immediately by interviews of the same subjects by the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These interviews would again be followed by FBI interviews in order to preclude the Invaders member denying his membership, which has happened in the past.

Interviews of subjects are not, strictly speaking, a counterintelligence operation, although this action often neutralizes members of an extremist group. Memphis should proceed with interviews of rank and file members on SAC authority as provided by the Manual of Instructions. Initial interviews of officers, however, require Bureau authority and this authority should be requested in the usual manner.

For the information of Memphis, the fourth line of the counterintelligence caption should be the target of the counterintelligence action or the purpose of the action. Thus, the fourth line of the caption in this case would be Invaders.

TJD:mms

(4)

MAILED 4
MAY 29 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
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98 JUN 2 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

880
148

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/21/69

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4542) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
~~(VISUAL AIDS)~~

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

Bureau authority is requested to implement the following counterintelligence program directed against the black militant group at Memphis, Tennessee, known as the Invaders. The Memphis Office has been conducting routine interviews of rank and file members of the Invaders in an effort to disrupt their activities and to develop informants within this group.

[REDACTED]

Two BuAgents familiar with the Invader activities at Memphis would like to begin interviewing all officers and leading members of the Invaders and have a [REDACTED] along with Officer [REDACTED] followup the interview of each of these Invaders on the afternoon of their interview by BuAgents with an interview by the two police officers. It is hoped that the interview of the Invader by the two police officers will be followed the following day by a reinterview of the Invader by the two BuAgents who previously interviewed the Invader. It is pointed out that interviews with

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Memphis

HSLPEH
(4)

ST. 115

MAY 26 1969

RACIAL INT.

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Invaders to date by BuAgents in the majority of cases have resulted in the Invader member denying his membership in the Invaders resulting in an argument in an effort to convince the Invader that the FBI knows of his activity and membership in the Invader group. It is believed that an interview by [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] following the initial interview by BuAgents would put the Invader in a more receptive mood insofar as a followup interview is concerned by BuAgents. It is believed that such an interview program in conjunction with the [REDACTED] would tend to further disrupt and neutralize the Invader organization. It is also believed that it enhances the possibilities of the development of good informants within this organization.

Such an interview program as outlined above has been discussed with [REDACTED] and he is most agreeable to such a program and upon receipt of Bureau permission, this program will be instituted immediately.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/23/69

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel, 3/4/68; NYlet, 4/15/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The NYO plans to schedule additional meetings of the RNA as set forth under Tangible Results section of this letter.

The NYO also plans additional operations to be taken against the BPP.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

In accordance with Bureau request the anonymous "Irving" letter was sent to [REDACTED] on 4/25/69.

As of this date no tangible results have come to the attention of the NYO.

3. Tangible Results

On 4/15/69, the NYO mailed out two letters to the Episcopal Church. The purpose of these letters was to try to prevent the Episcopal Church through one [REDACTED] from giving \$34,000 to representatives of SNCC.

On 5/8/69, it was determined that [REDACTED] resigned from his position with the Episcopal Church two weeks previously due to some disagreement with church officials.

Therefore, it appears that this counterintelligence measure has borne some fruit.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

JJD:ljm
(3)

REC-114

25 MAY 28 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

191

NY 100-161140

The NYO sent out 32 postcards to RNA members in NYC area advising them to attend meeting of all members at Hotel Diplomat 4/26/69, at 2:00 PM.

A RNA member called [REDACTED] to verify meeting and [REDACTED] stated that she did not schedule any meeting on that date. They deduced that the police had the stamp duplicated and scheduled the meeting to get all RNA members together so they could make a mass arrest. [REDACTED]

At another meeting of RNA all members were requested to submit handwriting specimens with their own pens and in the exact words used in the postcards. The RNA officials are trying to determine if this "trick" could have been pulled by a RNA member.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interests

As the Bureau is aware, the NYO has conducted many interviews with members of the BPP, RNA, Black Militants and other sympathizers. It is felt that these interviews have helped to alert the Black Militants to the idea that the FBI, as well as the local police, are interested in their activities. This has helped to disrupt the BPP and RNA in this area. Every effort will be made to keep the pressure up on these militants.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/21/69

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4542) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Memphis airtel to Bureau, 4/29/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four 8 x 10 photos of damage done to the office of [REDACTED] Memphis, Tennessee, [REDACTED] during a sitin and takeover of his office by members of the Black Student Association (BSA), NSU.

Damage to the rug in [REDACTED] office has resulted in replacement of this rug. The photos were furnished to the Memphis Office by the [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)
2-Memphis

HSL:PEH
(4)

REC-39

945
MAY 26 1969

79 MAY 29 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

143

ROUTED TO DIRECTOR OPE

SAC, Cleveland (157-1848)

5/23/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReCVairtel 5/16/69 entitled "Black Panther Party, Racial Matters." Referenced airtel points out that BPP members may be attempting to organize a BPP chapter in Cleveland, Ohio, at this time.

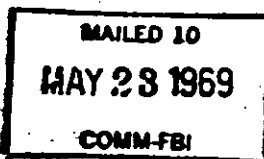
Cleveland should remain alert for the possibility of utilizing counterintelligence measures to prevent this organization attempt. Consider exploiting the apparent attempts by members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) to prevent this organization. Take no action without specific Bureau authority.

JAN:lis
(4)

NOTE:

Cleveland has furnished information pointing out that the BPP is attempting to organize a chapter in Cleveland, Ohio. Sources have advised that members of the RNA do not want this organization. We are alerting Cleveland to the possibility of taking counterintelligence steps to prevent the organization in pointing out to them the existence of the disapproval by the RNA.

REC-103



5. MAY 26 1969

3 MAY 27 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

194

FBI

Date: 5/21/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)
BUDED 5/23/69

Re Bureau airtel to Albany and other offices, 4/24/69

The Los Angeles Office has furnished all visual aid material related to violence by black extremists and other activities of these groups to the Bureau. Los Angeles is aware of the need of such material by the Bureau and will immediately forward same when received.

1-806 D

REC-2

643

2 - Bureau (AM-REGISTERED)
1 - Los Angeles

15 MAY 22 1969

LWS/gcw
(3) 185

MAILED
RACIAL INT. SECT.

70 MAY 27 1969

Approved: LWS

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

195

DATE: 5/20/69

OKLAHOMA CITY (157-403) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Oklahoma City letter to Bureau and San Francisco dated 3/27/69, captioned as above. Reference is also made to Oklahoma City letter to Bureau, 3/13/69, captioned "COUNTER-INTelligence PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY."

It is noted that during 1968, information was developed indicating that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had been associated with members of the Black Panther Party in San Francisco, California, area, prior to coming to Tulsa, Oklahoma. In November 1968 information was received from the San Francisco Division indicating that one [REDACTED] reportedly had lined up [REDACTED] individuals to attend a Black Panther Party Retreat in San Francisco. Investigation failed to disclose any information concerning [REDACTED] in the Tulsa area and it appeared [REDACTED] individual might be identical with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] being a past or present member of the Black Panther Party and she said her coming to Tulsa had no connection with the BPP. She admitted attending a BPP meeting at Richmond, California, in May or June, 1968, but said she was not in complete agreement with all of the views expressed by members and officials of the BPP. She said she did not believe in the violent overthrow of the existing form of Government in the U. S. but did feel that black people should have firearms for self protection.

Bureau (RM)
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, etc)
Oklahoma City
2 - 157-403
1 - 157-5101
REC 15

NOT RECORDED
202 JUN 10 1969

59 JUN 12 1969

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[redacted] in the and no information concerning [redacted] in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, or anywhere else in the United States. [redacted] has not established any contact with the [redacted] and [redacted] activity in Tulsa to promote [redacted] of [redacted] at a [redacted] retreat in California during November 1966.

[redacted] stated that she had known [redacted] for about five years and he was a member of [redacted] of the [redacted] but reportedly is no longer associated with the movement.

During the inspection [redacted] appeared to be a quiet, docile, retiring type of person. There was no indication of any military and her personality appeared to be such as would not lend itself to any successful organizing work.

A summary report has been submitted to the Bureau concerning [redacted] and she was not recommended for inclusion in the Security Index.

Since all logical investigation has been completed and no evidence has been developed to establish the existence of a [redacted] unit in the Oklahoma City Division, it is anticipated this case will be placed in a closed status upon receipt of the information requested from San Francisco in referenced letter 3/27/69.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/20/69

FROM :

SAC, MIAMI (157-2414) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Remylet 2/19/69.

There has been no significant change in overall black nationalist activity within the Miami Division since referenced letter.

The only addition to Miami's Agitator Index involved in black nationalist activities since referenced letter is [REDACTED]

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Public source and other information concerning the NOI has been furnished to a Miami television station, who is considering producing a documentary exposing the NOI. This program is being conducted on Bureau authority and on a strictly confidential basis. The News Director of the station interested in this program advised on 5/19/69, that he is still extremely interested in producing the program as soon as possible. He said, however, because of a "manpower shortage," he has been unable to devote any time to the program. He said that his manpower situation still has not improved, and it now appears that it would be a month or more before he would be able to get started on this expose.

1-7067
 (2) - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Miami
 JCM:plm
 (3)

REC-103

MAY 22 1969

RACIAL INT. DIV.

JUN 4

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MM 157-2414

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Whenever possible, Miami is utilizing interviews with NOI members and other black nationalists as counterintelligence measures. This is done very subtly. Care is taken to insure that these interviews will not cause any embarrassment to the Bureau.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

The recent removal of [REDACTED] the NOI in Miami can be attributed at least in part to counterintelligence programs of the Miami Office, particularly to a letter submitted, on Bureau authority, to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, accusing [REDACTED] with extra-marital activities, and two statements made during interviews with NOI members capitalizing on a known personality conflict between [REDACTED] and other NOI officials.

It is noted the letter sent to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was placed in the mail at Miami on 3/13/69 and [REDACTED] was notified of his removal as [REDACTED] A replacement [REDACTED] was not assigned to Miami until [REDACTED] indicating a decision was made to relieve [REDACTED] of his duties before a replacement had been chosen. [REDACTED] has expressed concern over his removal and fear that he might never again become a [REDACTED]

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTERESTS

None.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/19/69

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Omaha letter to Director 5/5/69.

The BPP in Omaha, as noted in referenced letter, recently sponsored the organization of Black Association for Nationalism Through Unity (BANTU) at Technical High School, Omaha. The latter organization recently furnished to the Technical High School administration a list of 23 demands and planned a boycott of Technical High School by Tech students on 5/19/69 in commemoration of the birthday of MALCOLM X. At a BPP rally held 5/18/69 in an Omaha public park BPP and BANTU officials called on the Negro community to observe 5/19/69 as a holiday. Approximately 60 per cent of the Negro student body at Tech High School complied with this request and were absent from school on that date.

Omaha is remaining alert to various activities of the BPP and BANTU that might lend themselves to counterintelligence activity and it is anticipated that such situations will arise in the very near future.

No counterintelligence accomplishments have been obtained under captioned program during the past two-week period.

This matter will continue to receive close attention, and suggestions for counterintelligence activity against the BPP or its leadership at a future date will be submitted by separate letter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Omaha
GDW:cjw
(4)

REC-2

100-448006-11

MAY 22 1969

RECEIVED

5 JUN 4 1969

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200

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/20/69

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)
BUDED: 5/23/69

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 4/24/69.

The Jackson Division has not obtained any additional visual material relating to violence by black extremists. Should any material in this regard be subsequently received, it will be expeditiously forwarded to the Bureau.

REC-88

12 MAY 22 1969

1-8067
2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Jackson
TF/jsk
(4)

54 MAY 27 1969



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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698) DATE: 5/19/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter 4/30/69, under the first of the above two captions and Chicago letter, 5/1/69, under the caption as carried above.

The referenced letter of May 1, 1969, was directed toward inhibiting the embryonic alliance formed locally recently between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It was suggested that efforts be made to exploit the coalition by depicting the working relationship as an effort on the part of SDS to utilize the BPP as a mercenary group fighting a black war for white liberation.

A careful review and analysis of BPP activities locally since relet of April 30, 1969, reflects that the tenuous working relationship between these two groups continues to exist and the activities and programs as recommended in Chicago letter of May 1, 1969, continue to be valid. Chicago will await the Bureau's response to this recommendation prior to initiating any efforts in this direction.

In recent weeks also the local BPP group has effected a similar coalition with the Young Lords, a near north side Puerto Rican youth gang and the Young Patriots, the latter an off-shoot of Jobs or Income Now (JOIN), an SDS affiliated group of young whites. Chicago will follow this and related developments closely and as the opportunity presents itself will submit appropriate counterintelligence suggestions.

100-902-225

REC-88

4 - Bureau (RM)
4 - Chicago
(1 - 157-
(1 - 100-

(YOUNG LORDS)
(YOUNG PATRIOTS)

MAY 21 1969

JCS/bab

(8)

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RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-449698-5

202

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BPP

DATE: 5/21/69

ReSFairtel, 5/14/69, entitled as above and directed to Bufile (100-12448).

If a letter could be directed to some central location where all three individuals would have something in common then this office would agree that a letter should be sent to all three collectively at that location.

However, in this case it is not felt that this is possible. Therefore, separate letters could be sent to [REDACTED]

WFO and Boston the OOs on CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] are in a better position than NYO to furnish addresses on the latter two individuals.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 1 - New York

JJD:ljm
(5)

REC-117

54 JUN 3 1969

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118
203

FBI

Date: 5/16/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP'S
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Sacramento airtel 5/1/69.

Sacramento is closely following Black Panther Party activity in Vallejo, California, in an effort to determine if additional dissension is developing there as a result of information set forth in referenced airtel. Should further developments along these lines be detected, Sacramento will promptly devise, if possible, a counter-intelligence measure which could possibly increase further factionalism there.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Sacramento (1 - 100-894)
(1 - 157-52B)

GIS/kah
(4)

54 MAY 28 1969

EX-100
REC-124

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

254

FBI

Date: 5/13/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Handwritten: [Signature]

Re Boston airtel, dated 4/28/69, regarding [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is not known to have reported to BPP headquarters. Bureau and Boston were previously advised of the complaint of the New Haven Branch of the BPP against [REDACTED] activities, particularly his running around in a [REDACTED] and in some way making inroads on the normal finances of the chapter. Headquarters promised New Haven to "deal with" [REDACTED]. It appears doubtful that [REDACTED] would expose himself by visiting BPP headquarters.

Handwritten: D

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Boston (157-654)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
WAC:bfr
(6)

REC-85

100-115-936

MAY 15 1969

Handwritten: [Signature]
RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 MAY 27 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Handwritten: 205

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *fw* SAC, NORFOLK (157-464) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS -
HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (NOI)

DATE: 5/19/69

Re Norfolk letter 10/23/68, and Bureau letter 11/7/68.

Pursuant to Bureau authority, on 11/16/68, the Norfolk Office mailed an anonymous letter at Suffolk, Virginia, addressed to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD but directed to CLARA MUHAMMAD, his wife.

Although the letter has been mailed, there have been no results forthcoming. Informants in the Norfolk Division advise that to their knowledge, there has been no inquiry whatsoever by NOI officials concerning the allegation relating to

The Norfolk Division is desirous of sending another anonymous letter, again making the same allegation against

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Norfolk

REC-114

MAY 21 1969

HAW: *627* JUN 4 - 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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NF 157-464

In this regard, the Chicago Division is requested to suggest the name of some NOI official to whom the letter could be directed and who might possibly take some action against [REDACTED] or at least investigate the matter.

On receipt of this information, the Norfolk Division will prepare an anonymous letter and send it to the Bureau for approval.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/14/69

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATION)

ReBulet, 3/11/69.

A 16mm print of the television program, "WILD GRAPES," is being sent under separate cover. A bill has been received from WFLA-TV in the amount of \$286.00 for conversion of the program from videotape to 16mm motion picture film.

The first portion of the film, which pertains to JOMO, contains an interview of [REDACTED]

The next interview is of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is used to counteract statements by [REDACTED]

1-8067
3 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - PACKAGE COPY) (RM)
2 - Tampa
JEH:av
(5)

REC-73

12 MAY 16 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.



10 MAY 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EXF. PROC.

734

208

ROUTE 111

A. B. Fulton
J. A. Marion

SAC, Kansas City (100-12448)

5-21-69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReKClot 5-7-69 captioned "Black Panther Party (BPP),
Kansas City Division, Racial Matters; Counterintelligence
Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence,
Black Panther Party (BPP)" and Sacramento letter to Kansas City
4-4-69 captioned [REDACTED] Racial Matters."

In order to facilitate handling, Kansas City should
furnish counterintelligence proposals under sole caption of
counterintelligence.

Referenced Kansas City letter 5-7-69 points out the
extreme cooperation given Kansas City by [REDACTED]. This cooperation
will be considered as it concerns local dissemination of
information concerning the BPP Breakfast for Children Program.
Further instructions will be given you concerning this program.

The suggestion by Kansas City that a letter directed
to Khrushchov from [REDACTED] be furnished to [REDACTED] must
be turned down at this time. The clearing of this letter with
the Sheriff's Office in Sacramento and subsequent publication
in the Kansas City newspaper could definitely expose a Bureau
technique.

- Sacramento (100-894)

JAM:at:klw (6)

REC-93

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

2 MAY 21 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

MAILED 10
MAY 20 1969
COMM-FBI

99 MAY 23 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

209

Letter to SAC, Kansas City
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

Kansas City has developed an excellent source for mass media dissemination. This source, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] That office previously requested permission to disseminate information regarding the BPP Breakfast for Children Program to this source. The information pertained to BPP coloring books. We turned down this suggestion until such time as it can be shown that the coloring books were produced by the BPP. We are pointing this out to Kansas City and advising them that further instructions will be given them. Kansas City also requested permission to furnish information linking a BPP leader with a pro-Russian communication. This information was to be furnished to [REDACTED]. We are turning this down because the letter was originally in the possession of the Sheriff's Office in Sacramento. If printed the Sheriff would have knowledge of a Bureau counterintelligence technique.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/7/69

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12571) P

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
KANSAS CITY DIVISION
RM

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS -
HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (BPP)

Bureau letter 5/1/69, to Baltimore, copy to Kansas City, Seattle, and San Francisco, requested counterintelligence proposals to disrupt the national Black Panther Breakfast Program, and referred to Associated Press article dated 4/20/69, in the Washington Post, Washington D.C., as to the Kansas City, Missouri, (KCMO) BP Chapter's participation in that program.

The Kansas City Office is alert to counterintelligence areas mentioned in Bureau letter.

Generally, the small Black Panther Chapter's activity is image building (1) primarily as publicized benefactors of the poor, by feeding hungry school children, (2) less effectively, as vanguards of Black Liberation, protecting Negroes against police harrassment and white discrimination. Item (1), to date, presents some vulnerability to counterintelligence action through educating

(4) Bureau

(2 - 105-165706 - Sub 23) (Encs. 5) (RM) (AM)

(2) - 100-448006) (Encs. 5) (RM) (AM)

1 - Baltimore (157-2520) (Encs. 2) (AM) (RM)

1 - Sacramento (Encs. 3) (RM) (AM)

1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Encs. 4) (RM) (AM)

1 - Seattle (157-721) (Encs. 1) (RM) (AM)

4 - Kansas City (2 - 100-12571)

(2 - 100-12448)

HKJ:pf
(12)

ENCLOSURE

100-448006-933



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and using selected Negro leaders to reveal to others and to publicize the concealed revolutionary character of the Black Panthers and various members. Item (2), to date, presents less vulnerability for counterintelligence action due to small chapter membership, inaccessibility to the chapter's bank account data, and some publicized pending local and Federal prosecutions against the chapter's tight-knit leadership; prosecutions involve past possession of guns, rather than threats or armed violence.

It appears that numerous Black Panther chapters are participating in the national Black Panther Party Breakfast Program, with more or less favorable publicity, as a recent April issue of The Black Panther newspaper, official publication of the National Black Panther Party, devoted several pages to photographs and articles on numerous cities where BPP chapters are participating in their local areas in the "breakfast program".

Counterintelligence proposals as to the Kansas City, Missouri, BPP chapter's "breakfast program" were made in paragraphs four and five, page two, of Kansas City Air Mail letter, 4/22/69, to the Bureau, dual captioned as instant letter. The Bureau's views on those proposals will be appreciated.

Pages three, five and six of Kansas City Letterhead Memorandum, 4/28/69, captioned Black Panther Party, Kansas City Division, reflected among other things, the problem of countering favorable publicity, and of educating the naive, as well as the fact that Time Magazine may feature a favorable article as to the Kansas City, Missouri's chapter's participation in the "breakfast program".

Paragraph one, page two, of Kansas City letter 4/11/69, to the Bureau, captioned Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalists - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence, points up the problem of favorable counterintelligence action through publicity handled by news reporters who sensationalize questionable police tactics and who humanize

so-called victims, such as Black Panthers. In Kansas City, Missouri, the Kansas City Star, leading white daily newspaper, and a few so-called respectable Negro leaders have the "soft glove" policy of keeping communication open with the Black Panther chapter, so as not to jeopardize future contacts and news releases.

Paragraph four, page three of Kansas City Letterhead Memorandum 4/28/69, captioned Black Panther Party, Kansas City Division, reflects the concern on 4/25/69, of three top Negro leaders in Kansas City, Missouri, over the delayed, difficult process of educating the naive and others to the concealed unpublicized violent doctrines of national BPP represented by the local BP chapter.

On 5/1/69, the problem of local counter-publicity and educating the naive was again confidentially expressed separately by the same three top-concerned Negro leaders, knowledgeable liason sources in Kansas City, Missouri.

The next day, a courageous editorial dated 5/2/69, denouncing the BP, appeared on the front page of the Kansas City Call, weekly Negro newspaper, Kansas City, Missouri, copy of which is attached for information of the Bureau, San Francisco, Baltimore and Seattle. The BP chapter's only open reaction to the editorial was a peaceful visit on 5/3/69, to the Kansas City Call offices by two Black Panthers; they were not threatening, but indicated future good relations with the Call might be jeopardized by the Calls opposition.

In view of the Calls editorial position, and along the lines of previous counterintelligence recommendations (4/22/69, above) to release certain material to [REDACTED] it is further recommended that a copy of attached letter [REDACTED] to Mr. (NIKITA) KRUSHCHEV, then Premier of Russia, be

KC 100-12571

confidentially released to [REDACTED] for possible publication after first clearing with the Sheriff's Office, Stockton, California (see attached copy of Sacramento letter, 4/4/69, enclosing copy of [REDACTED] letter).

If the Bureau approves this specific recommendation, it is suggested the Sacramento Office be advised to clear release of [REDACTED] letter to [REDACTED] with the Sheriff's Office, and advise Kansas City.

Due to national publicity, attending the national BPP Breakfast Program, the Bureau undoubtedly has considered the inherent difficulties of a national counterintelligence program to counter the flood of BPP image seeking propaganda, by releasing documented public source data as to the revolutionary objectives of the national BPP. However, such releases by high authorities for local dissemination could not be ignored (e.g., statements by the President, the Attorney General, testimony of the Director), such as the quotes of Mr. JUSTICE THURGOOD MARSHALL in the Kansas City Star, 5/5/69, though MARSHALL in his position could hardly name the Black Panthers (copy attached for Bureau).

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Militants Can't Win, Negro Justice Says

New Orleans (AP)—The first Negro member of the U. S. Supreme court says black militants who defy the law should be made to face the consequences.

"Anarchy is anarchy," Justice Thurgood Marshall said yesterday, "and it makes no difference who practices it. It is bad; it is punishable and it should be punished."

Marshall spoke at the centennial celebration of predominantly Negro Dillard university.

"You can't use color for an excuse for not doing what you should be doing," he declared.

"Race is not an excuse for not keeping up your house properly. Nor is race an excuse for not keeping your children in school, even though they may still be segregated."

Marshall said he realized that "so far as race problems and minority rights go, the problems are not yet solved and I have no idea when they will be, but there has been some progress."

"The seeds are here," he added. "But nothing will be settled with guns, firebombs or rocks. The country can't survive if the perpetrators go unpunished. It's that simple."

Urging Negroes to reject black militant leadership, Marshall said:

"We should stand up and say, 'Look, man, you do what you want to do and I'll do what I want to do. But don't tell me I



Justice Marshall

have to do what you want me to do just because you said it."

The associate justice called for leadership through education, and said students demanding black studies and African culture should not discard other studies and cultures.

"You are not going to compete in the world until you have training exactly like everyone else, and, hopefully, better," he said. "Because when you're a Negro, you've got to be better."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 Kansas City St

Kansas City, Mo

Date: 5/5/69
Edition: Main
Author:
Editor: Paul V. Miner
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Kansas Ci

☐ Being Investigated

215

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Democratic Way For Most Blacks

The black community of Kansas City can no longer sit silently by and, by its silence, give the impression that the Black Panthers speak for black citizens when they call for the overthrow of the form of government which we have in the United States.

The vast majority of Negro, or black, citizens do not favor and will not participate in a movement which would attempt to change the democratic system which, though not perfect, offers opportunities to citizens, white and black alike, that no other system yet developed by man can match.

Negro citizens as a whole do not see threats of violence and gun-play and the disruption of established institutions as a means of achieving their goals. Rather, they will continue to fight for their rights and for justice and fair play through the democratic processes as outlined in our constitution.

The opportunities for Negro youth to achieve under the democratic system are greater by far today than ever before in our history.

This country, at long last, is moving forward, not backward, in race relations and human justice. While there still are many improvements to be made, the desired changes can be made through reasonable and legitimate processes without resort to futile talk about overthrowing our democratic government.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 Kansas City Call

Kansas City, Mo

Date: 5/2/69

Edition: Weekly

Author:

Editor: Lucille Bluford

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Kansas City

☐ Being Investigated

216

Letter to SAC, Chicago
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

be instructed to plant the idea that the SDS is exploiting the BPP. There are various good arguments available to accomplish this such as the SDS is using the BPP for their dirty work or the SDS will relegate the BPP to the status of servants. The planting of this idea in the minds of BPP leaders should pose no problem. It would be a definite advantage if these two groups were alienated. We are authorizing Chicago to instruct selected informants to plant ideas and cautioning them to make sure that the various ideas are different in nature and, of course, will not leave BPP leaders with the idea that this is a plan. Chicago has also made available some newspaper articles with the thought in mind of anonymous mailings. These articles question the SDS - BPP alliance. We are reproducing these articles and will consider for use as counterintelligence.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/19/69

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 5/5/69.

Concerning referenced letter, mention was made that a letter would be sent to the Bureau for approval in regard to possible counterintelligence action against the BPP in Indianapolis, Indiana, and more specifically aimed at the

[REDACTED]

to testify, and the possibility exists he might testify, the letter is being held in abeyance until it has been determined he is not going to be cooperative with the Federal case in progress. San Francisco Office advised it would not be desirable to jeopardize the possibility he might testify and if a letter was sent at this time, it might have an effect on whether he would testify. If subject does not testify, the anonymous letter mentioned in referenced letter will be submitted and used if approved.

Present counterintelligence measures consist of continuing attempts to interview BPP members.

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis
LLG/gsk
(3)

REC 43

17 MAY 21 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/19/69

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Re Newark letter to Bureau dated 5/5/69.

During the past two weeks, no counterintelligence measures were aimed against the BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP). No accomplishments were obtained during previous two-week period under captioned program.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
AGO:mas
(3)

REC-88

1 MAY 20 1969

RACIAL INTL. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

220

FBI

Date: 4/29/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4542) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

ReBuairtel 4/24/69.

There are enclosed for the Bureau five (5) 8 x 10 photographs of damage done by rioters during 4/4/69 riot on Main Street, Memphis, Tenn., as a result of a commemorative march held for the deceased MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Photographs were furnished by [REDACTED] and photograph #4 is of particular significance inasmuch as it depicts a portrait of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., which was hung in the main showcase window of Lowenstein's Department Store, one of the major Memphis stores which has granted credit to Memphis welfare recipients and has cooperated, meeting demands of all Negro groups at Memphis, and in spite of this, the window was kicked out by rioters.

100-448006-913

REC-50

2 MAY 2 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Airtel _____

Teletype _____

A.M. _____

A.M.S.D. _____

Spec. Del. _____

Reg. Mail _____

1-8061
(2) - Bureau (Encs. 5) (RM)
1 - Memphis

HSL:jap
(3)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

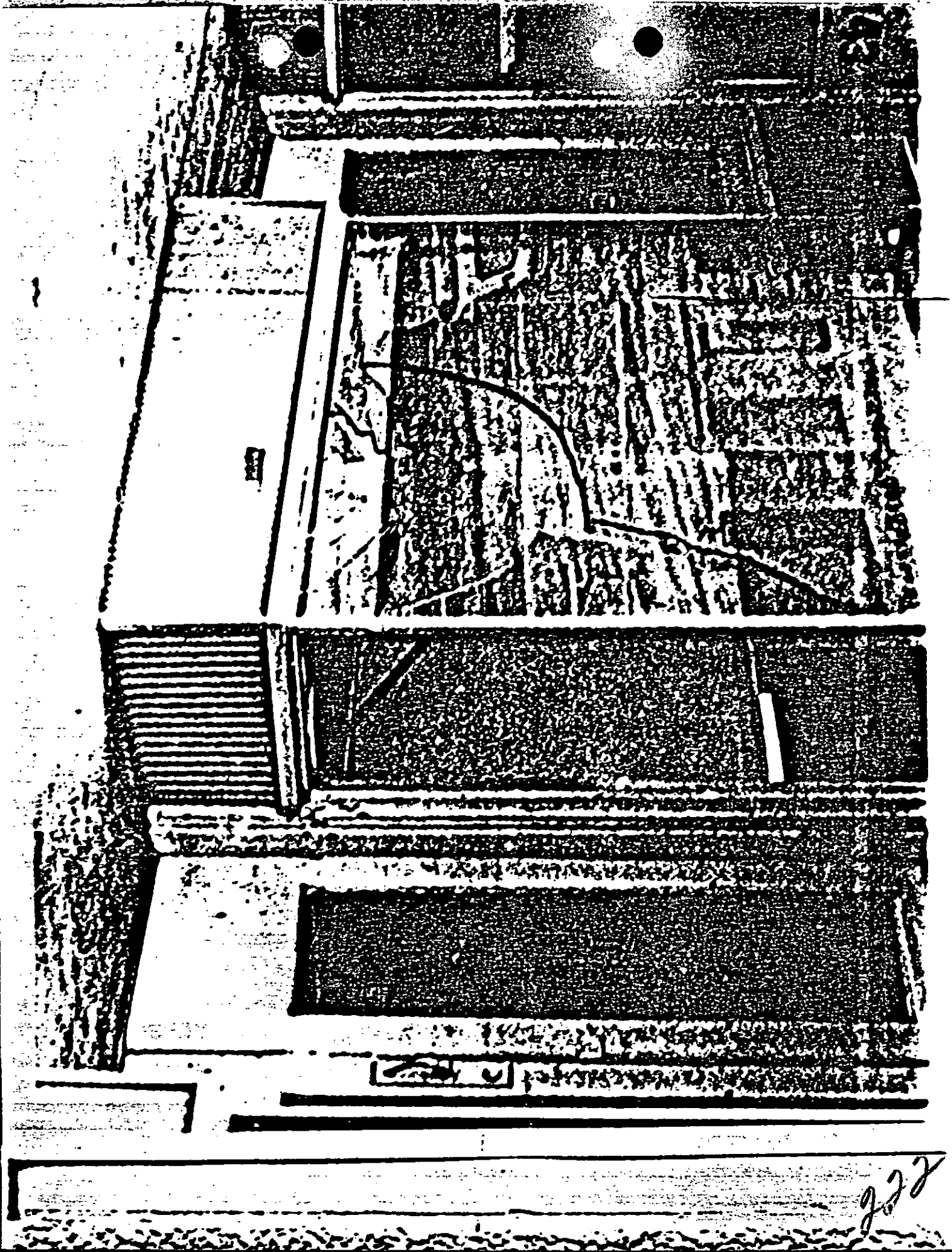
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

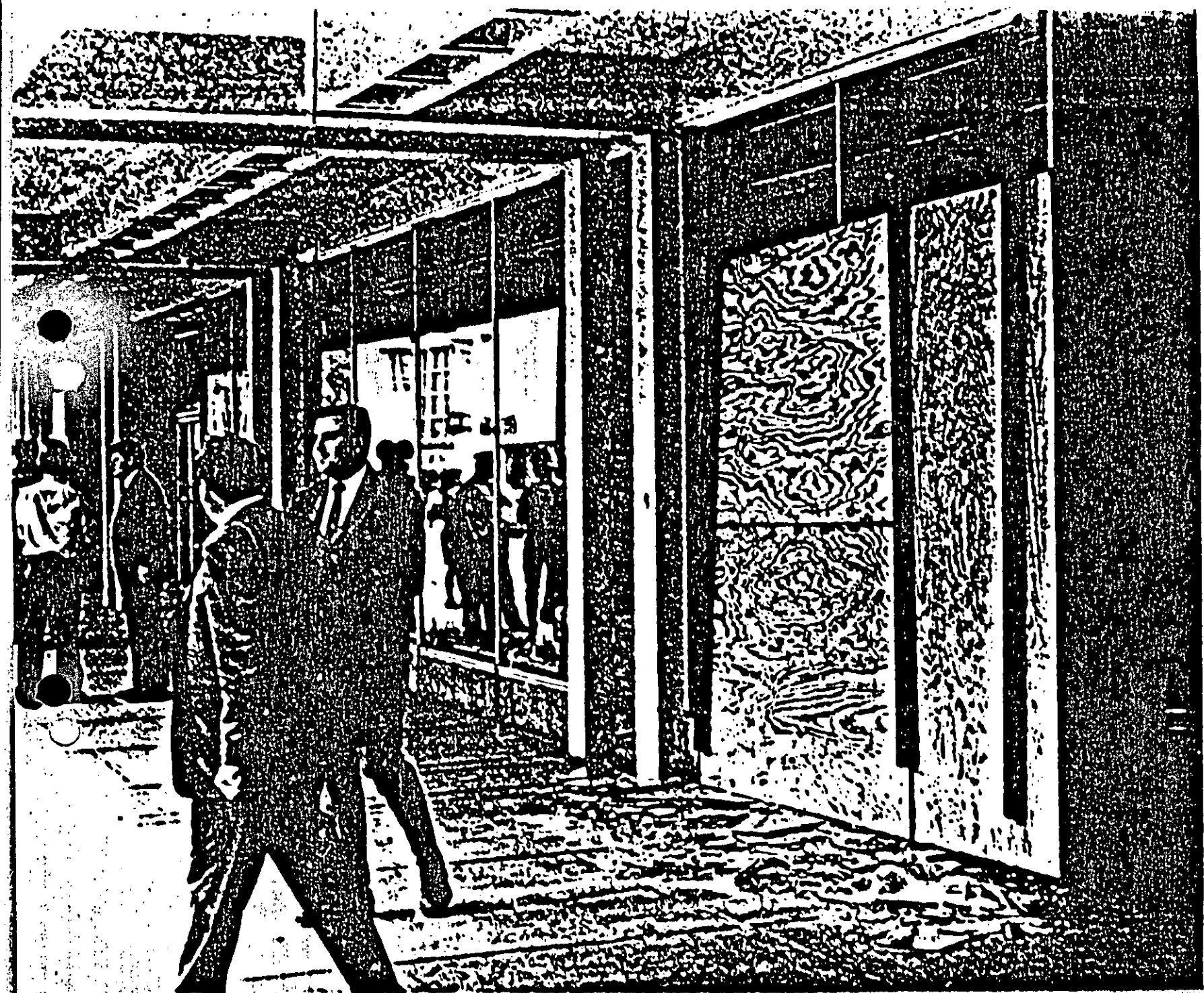
Sent _____ M Per _____

59 MAY 22 1969

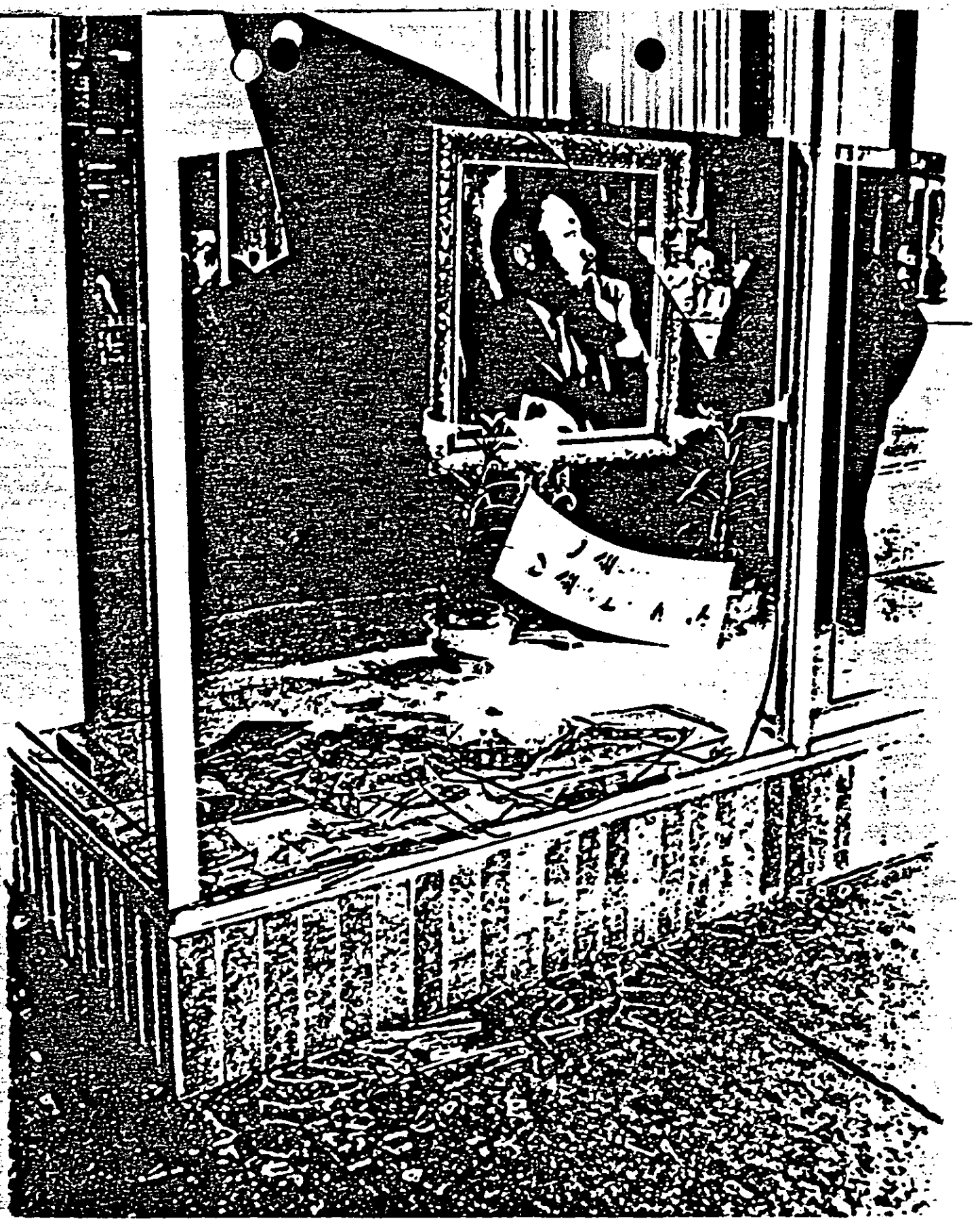
Registered _____

221





223





Old
7/20

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

BA
SAC, WFO (157-1292)

May 21, 1969

Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1781- [REDACTED]

ST-116 REC 37

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

Reurairtel 5/13/69.

The Bureau appreciates your suggestion to publish a letter to the editor concerning the role of the Black United Front at Howard University; however, this suggestion is not being approved at this time.

TJD:ekw [signature]
(4)

NOTE:

WFO's suggestion was aimed at producing disruption between the Black United Front and the students at Howard University who asked for the assistance of that group during the recent disturbance at the school.

Class _____
Rec'd _____
File _____
Copy _____
Phone _____
Mail _____
Tel _____
Fax _____
Room _____

MAILED 19
MAY 20 1969
COMM-FBI

9 MAY 23 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

gc [signature] 177 T80

2.26

FBI

Date: 5/13/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK UNITED FRONT)

Enclosed for the Bureau is a proposed "Letter To The Editor" which has been prepared on unwatermarked plain bond paper which is directed to the "Evening Star" newspaper. A carbon copy of this letter is attached to the airtel for ready reference of the Bureau.

As the Bureau is aware, dissident students at Howard University, which numbered no more than approximately 250 students, last week were successful in taking over approximately six buildings of this University and closing down the facilities from 5/7 through 9/69, and thereby disrupting the education of approximately 9,000 students who did not participate in the take over and apparently were not sympathetic with its aims and purposes. It is also noted that the dissident students enlisted the assistance of the Black United Front (BUF) and at least one of the spokesmen for the BUF, namely, Rev. DOUGLAS E. MOORE-Chairman, indicated the BUF was behind the students and would support their differences with the HU Administration. The basis for the contents of the "Letter To The Editor" is available from public source material particularly newspaper accounts of the events.

② - Bureau (Enc.1)
1 - WFO

WGD:tdl
(3)

AIRTEL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

227

WFO 157-1292

WFO feels the contents of the "Letter To The Editor" are self-explanatory and are intended to discredit the BUF as a self-styled voice of the black community of Washington, D. C. and will hopefully result in diminishing the stature of the BUF particularly in the eyes of the HU students.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The Bureau is requested to consider arranging to have the contents of the enclosed letter published in a friendly newspaper. It is noted that the draft is directed to the Editor of the Washington Evening Star. As the Bureau is aware, "Letters to the Editor" mailed to a newspaper must contain a bona fide name and address before the newspaper will print the same, although pen names can be utilized. The general format of this letter suggests it was prepared by a group of HU students not involved in the takeover and therefore it is signed "Concerned Howard University Students."

228

ROUTE IN EN LOPE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

5/20/69

9II-LS

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 127

REC 37

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSDairtel 5/6/69 captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence."

San Diego should, in the future, utilize the above caption and not the caption set forth in referenced airtel. In addition, multiple counterintelligence proposals should not be lumped together in one communication but should be requested individually.

Authority is granted to disseminate the information concerning child beating by [REDACTED]. This dissemination should be by anonymous communication and not in person. This communication should be typed on a manual typewriter using commercially purchased paper and should be mailed from a nearby ghetto area. Advise the Bureau of the results of this mailing.

Permission is granted to contact [REDACTED]

and furnish him information concerning the current whereabouts of [REDACTED] and the place where [REDACTED] keeps his vehicle. You must impress upon [REDACTED] the fact that the Bureau is not to be divulged as the source of this information. Based upon available information, [REDACTED] is not identifiable in Bufiles.

Referenced airtel requested Bureau authority to contact the State Attorney General's Office in an effort to obtain a search warrant for the residence of a BPP member [REDACTED] who allegedly has possession of a saved-off shotgun. This type of request should not be handled as counterintelligence and should be furnished the local agency as a matter of liaison. You should, of course, remain alert for any evidence of a violation of Federal law.

JAM:ra (6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

59 MAY 26 1969

MAILED 21
MAY 20 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Letter to SAC, San Diego
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

San Diego has requested permission to disseminate information to local child welfare agencies which points out that a BPP leader in San Diego has been mistreating the child of a female acquaintance. We are authorizing this dissemination but instructing that it should be by anonymous communication and not personally delivered. This is in view of the possibility that unidentified persons in the welfare agency could become cognizant of the source of this information. San Diego has also requested permission to furnish whereabouts of [REDACTED] and the location of his automobile to a trusted contact of the San Diego Office, who works for the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] delinquent mortgage on this vehicle. The employee, [REDACTED] has been contacted on previous occasions and is considered trustworthy and reliable. We are authorizing this dissemination. San Diego has requested permission to furnish the State Attorney General's Office with information concerning the possession of a saved-off shotgun by a BPP member. We are pointing out that violations of local law should be furnished appropriate local authorities as a matter of course and not under a counterintelligence program. While the possession of a saved-off shotgun is not a violation of Federal law, circumstances could result in such if the gun had been transported interstate. We are instructing San Diego to remain alert for indications of a violation of Federal law.

FBI

Date: 5/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Information has been received by the San Diego Office that [REDACTED] mistreating the child of [REDACTED]. This mistreatment has gone to the point of administering beatings to the child. It is not known at this point whether or not [REDACTED] is sufficiently agitated over this activity to press charges against [REDACTED] but it is doubted that this would be the case. In any event, efforts are being made to obtain sufficient evidence concerning this activity to supply the information to the local child welfare agencies in such a manner as to completely protect all confidential sources. K

Bureau permission is requested to disseminate the above information, once it is obtained, to the local child welfare agencies provided it in no way jeopardizes the security of an informant.

RLB:bef
(4)

10 MAY 8 1969
20

Approved: E/M
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

231

SD 100-14192

Bureau permission is requested to contact the State Attorney General's office in San Diego to determine if that agency can obtain a search warrant for [redacted] residence without disclosure of the source from which the information necessary to obtain the complaint stems. The ultimate purpose of obtaining this warrant, of course, is to effect the seizure of both the shotgun and the ammunition and prosecution of [redacted]

Bureau permission is also requested to contact [redacted] who is a contact of the San Diego Office, has been contacted on several occasions concerning Top Hoodlum type activities and has always been considered reliable and trustworthy. The purpose of contacting [redacted] would be to furnish him information concerning the current whereabouts of [redacted] and the place in which [redacted] keeps his vehicle. [redacted] is currently several months in arrears concerning his car payments and [redacted] desirous of repossessing the vehicle. It is not felt that furnishing [redacted] with the location would in any way jeopardize any confidential source of the San Diego Office nor would the FBI ever be identified as the source of the information.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, DENVER (157-199)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

DATE: 5/16/69

Re Denver letter 5/2/69.

Denver is awaiting Bureau reply to counterintelligence technique submitted 5/2/69.

Nothing has transpired with the Black Panther Party in Denver since referenced letter that would be of any significance to the counterintelligence technique used against the BPP.

ST 115

REC-49

MAY 19 1969

2 - Bureau
1 - Denver
FMV:pgr
(3)

RACIAL INT. SECT.



MAY 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

233

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/12/69

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Seattle letter to Bureau, 4/28/69.

In response to Bureau instructions contained in Bureau letter to Baltimore, 11/25/68, the following information is being furnished.

I. Operations Under Consideration

Four of the most militant and dangerous Black Panther Party (BPP) members are in custody at the present time. [REDACTED] are currently in custody awaiting charges for participation in a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] charge and are currently awaiting sentence. An exhaustive file review of the remaining BPP members is currently being undertaken by Seattle Division in an effort to select individual BPP members who might be appropriate targets for operations directed toward developing them as informants. The Bureau will be advised by appropriate means when and if a logical BPP member has been selected for possible development as an informant on BPP matters.

II. Operations Being Effected

A private showing of the Black Panther film "Off the Pigs" was arranged for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and his response to this showing was favorable and he indicated that an appropriate editorial comment concerning the BPP in Seattle might possibly be arranged at a time when it would prove most effective against the BPP. The Seattle Division does not feel that an editorial at this time would be appropriate in view of the fact that two BPP members will

2 - Bureau (REG)

2 - Seattle

WHW:cmh

(4)

REC-24

MAY 19 1969

51 MAY 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

be tried within the next two weeks on bank robbery charges and two other BPP members are currently awaiting sentence.

III. Tangible Results

None.

IV. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

[REDACTED] on a bench warrant issued by Federal Judge WILLIAM N. GOODWIN. These two individuals were re-arrested after information was developed that several potential witnesses in this bank robbery trial had been threatened and when this was brought to the attention of Judge GOODWIN, a bench warrant was issued and subjects were subsequently arrested.

Information has been received that [REDACTED] was probably responsible for the robbery of the Liberty National Bank earlier this year and after he has been sentenced by local authorities on this armed robbery charge, consideration will be given to interviewing him concerning this bank robbery and concerning any other information he may have concerning BPP activities.

The next bi-weekly letter will be submitted May 26, 1969.

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/16/69

FROM :

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Bureau 0-1 received 5/9/69, concerning Bureau letter 1/24/69.

The referenced letter concerned an editorial from "The Crisis", NAACP magazine condemning black nationalist extremists.

The Bureau letter of 1/24/69, was a follow-up to an airtel of 1/7/69, which suggested the editorial might be of use in contacting potential sources. The Bulet of 1/24/69, suggested that a ROY WILKINS article on the same subject might be more pertinent for an anonymous mailing.

San Francisco letter dated 2/13/69, paragraphs one and two appears to have answered the above inquiry. In this letter, San Francisco recommended mailing the WILKINS' article as well as another one by CARL ROWAN. This was subsequently done.

It is not believed that the "Crisis" editorial would be of much use at this time, as the militants do not agree with the NAACP approach, and have so stated many times publicly.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco
WAC:mb
(4)

REC-22
SF 415

MAY 17 1969

70 MAY 27 1969

T. D. [Signature]
[Signature] c16
[Signature]
236

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/15/69

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
[REDACTED]

Reurlet, 3/28/69.

A letter was prepared and sent out following instructions set out in referenced Bureau letter on 4/2/69.

[REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Cincinnati
(1 - 100-16921)
(1 - [REDACTED])

AJH/amm
(4)

REC 37

MAY 19 1969



JUN 18 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT.

WMA

DeFinn

137

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

6-17-69

REC-88

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 922

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReSFlet 5-26-69.

Enclosed for San Francisco are five copies of unsigned Black Panther Party (BPP) letterhead and five copies of signed BPP letterhead. Enclosed for Houston is the BPP letterhead furnished in Houston letter 5-16-69.

The enclosed letterhead was prepared by the Laboratory and is being furnished San Francisco for future use. This material should not be utilized without prior Bureau authority. The Bureau is maintaining a supply of both signed and unsigned BPP letterhead for future counter-intelligence proposals.

San Francisco should furnish a suggested expulsion letter pertaining to Stokely Carmichael. If it would be easier to expel an additional BPP leader while expelling Carmichael, you should do so in the suggested mailing. For your consideration in establishing reasons for the expulsion, you should consider the possibility that the apparent breach between Carmichael and Bobby Seale is the fact that Carmichael is now apparently convinced that the so-called black revolution will take time. Seale and the rest of the Panthers are activists and need action to keep their organization alive. Carmichael has in the past several months intimated that this black revolution could even take generations. This could easily be part of the breach between the two. Money could logically be another reason why Carmichael and Seale are at arms length. Handle promptly.

Enclosures - 10

1 - Houston (157-1210) (Enclosure)

JAN:img
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 10
JUN 17 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____

98 JUN 23 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

NOTE:

Over the last several months it has become increasingly apparent that black extremist leader, Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister of the BPP, and other BPP leaders have drifted apart. Carmichael is overseas and statements have appeared in BPP newspapers criticizing him. This has caused consternation among BPP members. The Laboratory has produced BPP letterhead. We are instructing San Francisco to prepare, if possible, an intelligible letter expelling Carmichael from the BPP. If this can be accomplished, authorization will be requested to anonymously mail this communication to various BPP chapters throughout the country.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 6/16/69

FROM : *WJ* SAC, HOUSTON(157-1210)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RE: Bulet, 5/12/69.

Attached for the Bureau for possible utilization in the suggested counterintelligence move is the letter from the BPP, dated 1/26/69, which was received by [REDACTED] copies of which were previously furnished the Bureau.

The attached letter appears to have been prepared on some type of duplicating machine but may be sufficient for reproduction by the Bureau.

The enclosed letter should be returned to Houston by the Bureau after it has served its purpose as it is being retained for possible future evidentiary value.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (RM)(Info) (157-601)
1 - Houston
DCS:sm
(4)

ST-103

REC-6

922
MAY 19 1969

RACIAL

FBI

Date: 5/12/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReMilet to Bureau, 4/28/69.

No further information developed to date re power struggle between Black Panther Party (BPP) and Milwaukee National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council Commandos Project I. Sources continue to be alert for information re this matter.

Milwaukee sources indicate BPP is having great difficulty locating new meeting place because of reputation of being militant.

REC 54

Milwaukee continues vigorous investigation of BPP in attempt to develop openings for use as counterintelligence measures. Bureau will be kept advised.

2 - Bureau (100-448006) (AM-RM)
1 - Milwaukee (157-459)
RAB/kdb (3)

MAY 14 1969

REC-11-SECT

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

50 MAY 20 1969

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/12/69

SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Kansas City letters 2/13/69 and 4/22 & 28/69,
to Bureau; and Kansas City airmail letter 5/7/69, to
Bureau, dual caption, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
KANSAS CITY DIVISION", and "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)."

90 DAY PROGRESS LETTER, KANSAS CITY
DIVISION

- 1) Operations under consideration (See recommendations in Kansas City letters of 4/22/69 and 5/7/69)
- 2) Operations being effected
- 3) Tangible results
- 4) Developments of counterintelligence interest:

The Kansas City, Missouri BP chapter continues intensive image building activity and publicity as benefactors of the poor in its local "Breakfast for the Poor", feeding hundreds of "hungry" school children pursuant to a national BPP breakfast program.

- A - Bureau (AM)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)
- 4 - Kansas City (2 - 100-12448)
(1 - 100-12571)(BPP)

HKJ:pe

MAY 27 1969

REC 43

MAY 16 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

KC 100-12448

**BIWEEKLY LETTER - PROPOSED COUNTER-
INTELLIGENCE AGAINST BPP CHAPTER,
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI**

No specific counterintelligence action against the Kansas City, Missouri BPP chapter is proposed at this time in addition to the two recommendations contained in Kansas City letter of 4/22/69, and one recommendation contained in Kansas City letter of 5/7/69, submitted to the Bureau for review.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

DATE: 5/14/69

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 5/1/69.

Counterintelligence Operations in Effect
Against the Black Panther Party (BPP)

No new counterintelligence operations have been placed in effect against the BPP since the date of referenced letter.

Interviews with BPP members are being conducted with regularity and this has created a degree of distrust among the members, causing disruption within the BPP.

Counterintelligence Operations
Under Consideration

The Los Angeles Office is continuing its imaginative, penetrative and aggressive investigation of the BPP and is always alert for new methods of counterintelligence measures to direct against them. All arrests of BPP members are checked for possible violations of the Anti-Trust and gun control laws, for possible prosecution under Federal and State statutes.

Accomplishments Obtained

Informants have reported no reactions to those operations now in effect against the BPP by the Los Angeles and San Diego Offices.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
2 - San Diego (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles
1 - 157-1618

LWS/gcw
(6)

56 MAY 26 1969

REC 43

5 MAY 16 1969

NANCY J. SECT.

244

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 5/14/69

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-5096) P*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Richmond letter to the Bureau, 2/23/69.

Richmond efforts to identify militant black organizations within its territory are continuing; however, to date these efforts have met with negative results.

Through the development of additional Negro racial informants and Negro ghetto informants, Richmond believes that if a militant black organization exists, or is attempting to organize within the Richmond territory, this information will come to light. Once such information becomes known, Richmond will propose appropriate counterintelligence measures for Bureau approval. In the meantime Richmond is endeavoring to increase the quantity and quality of its coverage in ghetto areas, believing this to be one of the best ways to discover the existence of and/or the formation of militant organizations.

It is noted that [REDACTED] individual mentioned in re Richmond letter has apparently been effectively neutralized. He was convicted in Richmond Police Court of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Information has been submitted to the Bureau in [REDACTED]

Richmond is continuing its efforts to identify militant black organizations and/or individuals within its territory.

REC 17

1-9060
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Richmond
TJO/vlr.

100-448006-918
12 MAY 16 1969

(3)

54 MAY 22 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

245

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443006)

DATE: 5/14/69

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096) -P*-
RRH

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS.
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL ITEMS)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 4/24/69.

With regard to visual material relating to violence by black extremists, requested in reBuairtel, the Richmond Division has no such material available at this time.

Should such material become available to the Richmond Office, it will be submitted to the Bureau under the above caption.

- 1-806*
- ② - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 1 - Richmond

TJO:ddm
(3)

REC 54

12 MAY 16 1969



54 MAY 21 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

246

SAC, New Haven (157-785)

5/15/69

REC 18

Director, FBI (100-448006) — 9/6

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (CIP)
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNHlet 4/28/69.

In order to facilitate action on counterintelligence proposals, New Haven should not include these proposals in the biweekly letter. In addition, the name of the organization, which is the subject of the proposal, should be added to the title.

Authority is not being granted to mail the communication suggested by you in referenced letter. Obscenity should not be considered in the mailing of anonymous communications under the CIP. In addition, the communication appears too strong to be mailed to moderate black businessmen.. Your attention is directed to the 5/11/69 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper, page 8, which contains an article entitled "Breakfast for School Children." You should review this article and consider a mass media dissemination. The article may accomplish the same purpose as your suggested letter. Take no action without specific authority of the Bureau.

A review of referenced letter disclosed that members of the BPP caused a newspaper article to be printed which pitted the local hoodlum element against the BPP. You should review files in an effort to identify various drug pushers and narcotics dealers in the New Haven area. You should thereafter consider and forward specific proposals aimed toward the furtherance of agitation by the hoodlums and the BPP.

UAM:ra (4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 19
MAY 14 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
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89 MAY 2 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

247

Letter to SAC, New Haven
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

New Haven has proposed the anonymous mailing of a letter to a selected group of moderate black businessmen in the Bridgeport, New Haven, and Hartford and Middletown, Connecticut areas. This letter contains an obscene word and points out that if black businessmen do not support the BPP, they will have to "face the black people." We are turning this suggestion down. The communication appears to be too strong when directed to moderate black businessmen. We are calling New Haven's attention to a recent article in the BPP publication which threatens businessmen and may accomplish the same purpose as the New Haven recommended letter. We are also calling New Haven's attention to a situation existing in New Haven whereby the local hoodlums and the BPP are criticizing each other. We are calling for a suggested counterintelligence proposal concerning this.

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 4/28/69

Re New Haven letter to Bureau, 4/10/69, and Bulet to San Francisco, 4/23/69.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, the following information is set forth:

1. Operations Under Consideration: (a) Bureau authority is requested to mail, under anonymous cover, the attached open letter to selected Black businessmen in the Bridgeport, New Haven, Hartford, and Middletown, Conn., areas.

It is felt that such a letter would have the effect of:

- 1.) Conveying a threat to the Black money structure which could eventually support the Black Panther Party (BPP) movement if it can ingratiate itself with the more affluent Black businessman; 2.) Prodding the moderate Negro businessman in the above areas into action with the legitimate civil rights organizations and anti-BPP groups in their respective areas; 3.) Creating a distrust within the BPP itself. By sending the letter unsigned, it would be difficult to attribute the composition to any one individual, since the statements contained therein are from several BPP public statements. If the BPP holds true to form, it should initiate its own investigation to attempt to determine which one or group of its members has embarked on this campaign without proper authority.

Minimum security requirements considered for this program are:

- 1.) That no businessman designated to receive this letter be known to be associated with the BPP; 2.) that the stationery utilized be of commercial grade purchased locally; 3.) that the letters be mailed simultaneously at branch Post Offices in ghetto areas; 4.) that the letter be prepared with other than a Bureau typewriter; and 5.) that typographical, spelling and grammatical errors be included to lend authenticity to the letter.

2-Bureau (Encl.) (RM)
1-San Francisco (info) (RM)
1-New Haven
LWH/lrf (4)



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If this recommendation is approved by the Bureau, immediate ground work will be undertaken in order that the letter may be sent at the appropriate moment.

2. Operations Being Effected: As authorized by the Bureau, this office is continuing to furnish [REDACTED] with public source type data concerning the Black Nationalist movement in Connecticut.

3. Tangible Results: Whether it can be attributed to this office's CI program, loss of drive, or lack of community support, it appears that the New Haven branch, which is considered to be the State headquarters, of the BPP is in a state of flux. A significant number of reports have been received indicating plans for the BPP State headquarters to be returned to Bridgeport or relocated in Hartford.

4. Developments of CI Interest: (a) In mid-April the City of New Haven condemned the Hill Parents Association building which housed the state BPP offices. All BPP administrative activity now appears to be carried out at 283 Putnam Avenue, which is a two-family house. (b) The New Haven Journal-Courier, (daily morning newspaper at New Haven, Conn.,) carried an article entitled "War on Drugs Mapped by 300 Hill Residents," on 4/22/69 which quoted JOSE E. GONZALVEZ, Captain BPP, Connecticut, as saying that, "it would be necessary to stop the Mafia from bringing drugs into the black community. The Panther may print posters with the faces of large operating drug pushers and the caption 'Wanted by the people.'" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(d) The expulsion of [REDACTED] from the BPP has had no reported effect on the local BPP chapter. Similar action on the part of [REDACTED] could have far-reaching effects within the Connecticut chapter. (e) It would appear that the BPP, both on the national and local level, has no qualms about purging its leaders and rank and file members for violating the Party's code of conduct. The result of these actions could obviously have many effects. If the BPP has gone on record in taking action against prominent members for alleged indiscretions or suspected informant activity, this propensity for action on the part of the party could conceivably be used against it by starting a rumor campaign against selected leaders and members.

A detrimental effect of such actions could be the formation of splinter militant groups which could conceivably be more prone toward violence than the BPP. Admittedly, the group would be much smaller and lack national leadership. It could, however, be typically composed of the less intelligent and and more reactionary individuals lacking the discipline imposed by the BPP. Informant coverage would be a monumental task.

New Haven is following all reports of internal strife within the BPP. Those matters which can logically be pursued will be brought to the attention of the Bureau by separate communications prior to initiation of any CI action against the BPP in this area.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has been observed in New Haven on one [REDACTED] plates, occasion operating a [REDACTED] which were determined to be fictitious by Bureau Agents. Attempts to arrest him for this violation by New Haven Police Department, however, failed when patrol cars reached the scene to find the automobile had departed.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(City as Appropriate)

BLACK BUSINESSMAN!!!!!!!!!!!!

We have come here to stop the Racist Actions that the oppressors (Black and White) Have taking upon our people. We are the Vanguard Party, and we intend to provide leadership for the people and Revolutionary groups across the country.

We're a party of Production. We're here to produce for the people, the poor oppressed people of our Nation. We're a Black people's army to fight the battle that the racist Pig Cop has organized to protect the avaricious businessman.

LOOK YOU BIG FAT SLOPPY HUNK OF MEAT, YOU LOWER YOUR PRICES OR GET THE FUCK OUT OF OUR COMMUNITY OR IF NOT, THEN YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FACE THE BLACK PEOPLE!!!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Brides Showcase

hgt
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NO
PARKING
BUS
STOP
←

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NOW LEASING
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Brides Showcase

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